

U. S. Participation in the UN

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Report by the President to the Congress for the Year 1977

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TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

I am pleased to send Congress this report of United States Government activities in the United Nations and its affiliated agencies during calendar year 1977.

This 32nd annual report strengthens my conviction that the United Nations is of great and growing importance to the conduct of U.S. foreign relations. We cannot effectively advance world peace and our other national interests if we ignore the potential of this global organization.

Ambassador Andrew Young called the 1977 General Assembly the "most constructive session in many years." It was largely free of the wasteful tactics of confrontation that had marred other recent sessions.

The other organs of the United Nations and the various specialized agencies also made progress on many of the difficult issues that humanity faces.

I am proud of the role we played in encouraging this constructive atmosphere. We are committed to resolving problems through reason and discussion, not confrontation.

Our national interests are best served by such cooperation, and by listening with respect to the problems of all nations, large and small. Our delegations paid particular attention to the views of those developing nations which make up two-thirds of the UN's membership and worked with them to identify points of common concern.

The interests of America and of many other UN members coincided in the search for peace in the Middle East and southern Africa, the promotion of human rights, the Panama Canal Treaties, and economic development to help meet the basic human needs of more than a billion of the world's people.

One of my first acts as President was to invite UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim to the White House, and I have discussed international issues with him on a number of occasions since then. During 1977, I was also privileged to speak at the United Nations twice -- once during March, and again at the opening of the 32nd General Assembly in September. Also while in New York, I took the occasion to sign the two United Nations human rights covenants which for many years had lacked U.S. signature.

Secretary of State Cyrus Vance has taken extraordinary pains -- including direct participation in Security Council and General Assembly meetings -- to make the United Nations an in-

creasingly vital factor in the conduct of this country's foreign relations. And Ambassador Young has worked with great skill and unusual effectiveness in improving our relationship with the UN and its member states.

Events in the United Nations system will not always go the way that this country might desire. The changing makeup of these organizations, the increasing diffusion of global power and the growing complexities of all issues make this inevitable. But those occasions should not make us withdraw our support, for the UN reflects the reality of the world in which we must live. We should, instead, feel challenged to develop imaginative and thoughtful new approaches in our diplomacy so as to advance our interests, and to play a constructive role in the world community. In particular, we need to continue demonstrating our faith in the basic purposes of an organization whose strength and effectiveness are essential to us and to the world.

The attached report details U.S. positions and policies on the issues which arose in the UN system during 1977. It includes:

- the extensive conduct of the so-called "North-South" dialogue -- the discussion of economic and other issues between industrialized countries and the developing nations;
- our support for the social and economic development activities -- including those of the UN Development Program. Some 90 percent of the funds expended by the UN system benefit these activities;
- U.S. efforts to support new progress on human rights throughout the UN system;
- preparations for the 1978 special General Assembly session devoted to disarmament;
- the adoption by consensus of a General Assembly resolution on aircraft hijacking, to make the world's airways safer for people everywhere;
- the beginning of extensive efforts against great odds to pursue peaceful settlements in Namibia and Rhodesia; and
- U.S. ratification and support of a new UN specialized agency -- the International Fund for Agricultural Development -- which will provide new resources to improve food production and nutrition in low-income countries and can benefit us by stabilizing the global food market.

Also included in this document is an analysis of the U.S. decision to withdraw from the International Labor Organization in November 1977. I took this decision with regret, since U.S. interests in international organizations are better met through membership and active participation than through withdrawal. Nevertheless, since announcement in 1975 of U.S. intention to withdraw,

we believed that insufficient progress had been made in resolving a number of difficulties in operation of the ILO. I still hope that the United States can return to the ILO when its operations clearly return to the organization's basic purposes.

Finally, among the activities of 1977 -- but not included in this report -- was steady work within the Administration on ways that the United States can work to strengthen the United Nations. My report on that topic, sent to the Congress on March 2, 1978, outlines reforms which can make the United Nations even more effective as the world's major forum for discussion and action on global issues.

I welcome the continuing interest of the Congress in U.S. participation in the United Nations, and I urge its increased moral backing and financial support as the United States addresses in the United Nations the increasingly difficult issues that lie ahead.

JIMMY CARTER

THE WHITE HOUSE

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ACRONYMS AND SHORT FORMS

AID	--U.S. Agency for International Development
ACABQ	--Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions
ACC	--Administrative Committee on Coordination
Committee of 24	--Special Committee on the Situation With Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
CCD	--Conference of the Committee on Disarmament
CIEC	--Conference on International Economic Cooperation
CSCE	--Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe
EC	--European Communities
ECA	--Economic Commission for Africa
ECE	--Economic Commission for Europe
ECLA	--Economic Commission for Latin America
ECOSOC	--Economic and Social Council
ECWA	--Economic Commission for Western Asia
ESCAP	--Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
FAO	--Food and Agriculture Organization
GATT	--General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
HEW	--U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
IAEA	--International Atomic Energy Agency
IBRD	--International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICAO	--International Civil Aviation Organization
IDA	--International Development Association
ILO	--International Labor Organization
IMCO	--Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization
IMF	--International Monetary Fund
ITU	--International Telecommunication Union
NASA	--U.S. National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NATO	--North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OAS	--Organization of American States
OAU	--Organization of African Unity
OECD	--Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	--Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
PLO	--Palestine Liberation Organization
UNCITRAL	--UN Commission on International Trade Law
UNCTAD	--UN Conference on Trade and Development
UNDOF	--UN Disengagement Observer Force
UNDP	--UN Development Program
UNEF	--UN Emergency Force
UNEP	--UN Environment Program
UNESCO	--UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNFICYP	--UN Force in Cyprus
UNHCR	--Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	--UN Children's Fund
UNIDO	--UN Industrial Development Organization
UNITAR	--UN Institute for Training and Research

UNRWA	--Un Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
UNSCEAR	--UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation
UPU	--Universal Postal Union
WFP	--World Food Program
WHO	--World Health Organization
WIPO	--World Intellectual Property Organization
WMO	--World Meteorological Organization

PART I.

POLITICAL AND SECURITY AFFAIRS

The UN Charter empowers both the Security Council and the General Assembly to consider political and security problems which arise between nations. Both organs have established subordinate bodies to assist them in the performance of their responsibilities.

The Security Council, which has 15 members, is required by the Charter to be organized in such fashion as to allow it to function continuously. It has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. A special role within the Council is assigned to its five permanent members--China, France, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom and the United States--in that the negative vote of a permanent member prevents the Security Council from taking a decision on any matter other than of a procedural nature. The Charter specifically authorizes the Security Council to take action in connection with the pacific settlement of disputes (Chapter VI) and with threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression (Chapter VII). The Council may only recommend action on those matters which come under Chapter VI, but in those areas covered by Chapter VII, it may take action, including the imposition of sanctions against a state, which is binding upon all member nations.

Among the most important continuing bodies resulting from the Security Council's actions in performance of its responsibilities are the UN Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP), The Rhodesian Sanctions Committee, and the two peacekeeping forces established to monitor the ceasefires following the 1973 war in the Middle East--UNEF, the UN Emergency Force (which operates between Egypt and Israel) and UNDOF, the UN Disengagement Observer Force (which operates between Israel and Syria). The three peacekeeping forces were created and deployed with the consent of the parties concerned.

The Middle East and southern Africa figured prominently in the Security Council's deliberation in 1977. At the request of Egypt, the Council met for three days, March 25, 28, and 29, to discuss the Middle East and the reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference. In subsequent meetings the Council took up recommendations of the Palestine Rights Committee and renewed UNDOF and UNEF. The Council devoted three sets of meetings (March 21-31, October 24-November 4, and December 9) to South Africa and Apartheid. In addition, it discussed the problems Lesotho has experienced since South Africa closed the border between Lesotho and the bantustan of Transkei, examined the progress toward majority rule in Southern Rhodesia, and considered complaints against that regime by Mozambique and Botswana.

In other actions during the year, the Security Council met several times between August 31 and September 15 to hear charges that Turkey was planning to permit Turkish settlement in parts of Famagusta. In June and December the Council renewed UNFICYP. The Council considered at various times throughout the year the complaint by Benin of a mercenary attack on its capital. It also recommended, and the General Assembly subsequently approved membership for the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, bringing the organization's total membership to 149 countries.

The General Assembly, in which all members are represented, meets annually in regular session. Its 32nd regular session opened September 20, 1977, and closed on December 21. Most of the work of the General Assembly is first considered in the seven committees of the whole. Political and security matters are generally taken up by the First Committee or the Special Political Committee. The Assembly has also established a number of ad hoc committees which meet between Assembly sessions and provide reports which form the foundation for much of the Assembly's work. The Conference of the Committee on Disarmament is not formally a part of the UN system but reports to the General Assembly.

The General Assembly spent much of its time on southern Africa and Southern Rhodesia. It adopted 15 resolutions dealing with Apartheid and designated the year beginning March 21, 1978, as International Anti-Apartheid Year. In a series of resolutions, the General Assembly declared among other things that it supported the armed struggle of the Namibian people and called for specific agencies to assist Namibia before and after independence.

Seventeen items on the Assembly's agenda were devoted to disarmament. The First Committee discussed all of the items as a block. Of the 21 resolutions which the General Assembly adopted upon the recommendation of the First Committee, a majority dealt with nuclear issues, including SALT, nuclear weapon free zones and non-proliferation. The Assembly also adopted a resolution which dealt with IAEA safeguards against the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Although many of the resolutions in this area are of a recurrent nature, two new resolutions which dealt with regional arms control and the publication of a UN periodical on disarmament were adopted.

In addition to disarmament, the Assembly considered the various aspects of the Middle East situation. The Special Political Committee discussed activities and funding of UNRWA and the Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories.

Other topics which came before the General Assembly included the Peaceful uses of outer space, the Law of the Sea, and the Western Sahara. The Assembly also adopted a Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Detente and adopted by consensus a resolution asking all states to adhere to the three anti-hijacking conventions.

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

MIDDLE EAST

There were intensive diplomatic efforts throughout 1977 aimed at promoting direct negotiations between the parties to the Arab-Israeli dispute and achieving a comprehensive peace settlement. Early in the year, both Secretary General Waldheim and Secretary of State Vance travelled to the Middle East for discussion of procedural problems relating to the reconvening of the Middle East Peace Conference at Geneva, which had been in recess since December 1973. The United States continued direct consultations with Middle East leaders in both Washington and elsewhere, although the disagreement regarding procedural questions--chiefly relating to the matter of Palestinian representation--continued throughout the summer and early fall. Egyptian President Anwar Sadat transformed the diplomacy of the Middle East on November 9 with his dramatic announcement that he would be willing to travel to Israel in pursuit of peace. Following his historic visit to Jerusalem, November 19-21, formal negotiations between Egypt and Israel began in Cairo on December 14, with representatives of the United States and the United Nations present.

Security Council Consideration

Middle East Debate

The Council met on March 25, 28, and 29 at the request of Egypt to discuss the situation in the Middle East in light of the Secretary General's report. This report, which dealt with efforts to reconvene the Geneva Middle East Peace Conference, had been submitted on February 28 in response to General Assembly resolution 31/62, adopted on December 9, 1976.

In his capacity as President of the Security Council for March, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Andrew Young, read a letter from the Egyptian Representative requesting the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the debate "in accordance with the previous decisions of the Council in that respect." The President said that it was his understanding that, if adopted, this proposal would confer on the PLO the same rights of participation as were conferred upon a member state when it was invited to participate under rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure. (The normal procedure would have been under rule 39, which provides for individuals to be invited to make statements and then withdraw.) A vote was requested by the United States. The proposal, which was not subject to the veto, was adopted by a vote of 10 to 1 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions (Canada, France, Federal Republic of Germany, United Kingdom). With the consent of the Council, the President also invited the representatives of Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen (Sana) to participate.

The Secretary General opened the debate and introduced his report, which outlined the key procedural problems in reconvening the Geneva Conference. The Egyptian Representative said the present time was propitious for making real progress, but criticized Israel for placing obstacles in the way of reconvening the Geneva Conference in regard to the participation of representatives of the Palestinian people. The Israeli Representative replied that Israel was prepared to reconvene the Geneva Conference at any time with the participants of the original conference of December 1973. He said that Israel was prepared for the participation of Palestinian Arabs from the West Bank in the Jordanian delegation, but it would not negotiate with the PLO.

Speaking for the United States on March 29, Ambassador Young said that while there were voices in the Middle East which rejected peace, the creative forces of reason and conciliation had never been stronger than they were today. The United States would work vigorously and creatively to assist the parties to move forward at the fastest possible pace consistent with the principle that nothing could be achieved by anyone except through the efforts and with the consent of all. He concluded that the Council had heard from both sides during the debate and was convinced even more firmly of the importance of furthering the peace process through the early reconvening of the Geneva Conference.

No resolutions were introduced. Although there was considerable discussion of a possible consensus statement, agreement was not reached on language acceptable to all the members. The debate was adjourned on March 29 without any decision being taken.

Palestinian Rights

At the request of the General Assembly's Palestinian Rights Committee,^{1/} the Council met briefly on October 27 to hear a report by the Committee Chairman, Ambassador Médoune Fall of Senegal. According to the previous practice, the PLO was invited to participate by a vote of 10 to 1 (U.S.), with 4 abstentions (Canada, France, F.R.G., U.K.). However, the PLO did not speak during the debate.

Ambassador Fall recalled that the 31st General Assembly had adopted a resolution on November 24, 1976, urging the Security Council to consider once again and as soon as possible the recommendations of the Palestinian Rights Committee. He said the Committee was firmly convinced that the Council must take action to adopt a positive approach likely to lead to the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights. At the same time,

^{1/} Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, established by the 30th General Assembly on Nov. 10, 1975. Its members in 1977 were Afghanistan, Cuba, Cyprus, German Democratic Republic, Guinea, Guyana, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Laos, Malagasy Republic, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Nigeria, Pakistan, Romania, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukrainian S.S.R., and Yugoslavia.

he noted that the Council had earlier (June 1976) failed to adopt a resolution endorsing the Committee's recommendations due to the negative vote of a permanent member (the United States).

There were 10 other speakers from the Security Council, though none of the Western members spoke. The debate was adjourned without the Council taking any action.

UNDOF Renewals

The Security Council met on May 26 and adopted a resolution^{2/} extending the UN Disengagement Observer Force (the peacekeeping force on the Golan Heights) for the period June 1 to November 30, 1977. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 12 (U.S.) to 0, with Benin, the People's Republic of China, and Libya not participating. Following the practice adopted during the UNDOF renewal the previous November, the Council President (Benin) read a statement on behalf of the members that quoted a portion of the Secretary General's report to the effect that the situation in the area would remain unstable and dangerous unless real progress was soon made toward an overall settlement.

Speaking for the United States, Ambassador James F. Leonard, Jr., praised UNDOF as an unqualified success. He said that the impressive institutional experience and expertise built up by the United Nations in peacekeeping operations should be kept in mind in efforts to negotiate solutions to longstanding problems. Noting the recent round of consultations embarked on by the United States, Ambassador Leonard said that the United States would persist in its deliberate and determined search for ways to bring the parties together and to help them to realize the just and durable peace that was the wish of all.

Meeting on November 30, the Council followed exactly the same procedure as the previous May in extending the UNDOF mandate until May 31, 1978. The resolution was again adopted by a vote of 12 (U.S.) to 0, with Benin, China, and Libya not participating.^{3/} In a short statement, Ambassador Leonard said that the effectiveness of UNDOF could be measured by the lack of attention it drew to itself, thus permitting the energies of the parties and the international community to be directed away from the battlefield and into peaceful negotiation.

UNEF Renewal

Following the procedure of the previous year, the Council met October 21 to extend until October 24, 1978, the mandate of the UN Emergency Force (the peacekeeping force in the Sinai). The resolution was adopted by a vote of 13 (U.S.) to 0, with China and Libya not participating.^{4/} The Council President (India) again read a

^{2/} Resolution 408 (1977).

^{3/} Resolution 420 (1977).

^{4/} Resolution 416 (1977).

statement to the effect that should developments occur which would lead the Secretary General to consider it appropriate to report to the Council before the expiration of the mandate, the Council would expect him to do so. Ambassador Leonard expressed gratification that the parties had again agreed to the extension of UNEF. He added that the parties, in doing so, had reaffirmed their commitment to the cease-fire and disengagement, as well as to the larger goal of a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

General Assembly Consideration

At the request of Egypt, the 32nd General Assembly added to its agenda a new item on Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. This item was assigned to plenary. There were four other Middle East items, all of which had been considered in earlier years. Two items--Situation in the Middle East and Question of Palestine--were also considered directly in plenary without reference to a main committee. The other two items--UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and Report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories--were considered by the Special Political Committee.

PLO Participation

At the beginning of each regular session the General Assembly devotes about 3 weeks to a general debate during which heads of delegations may state the views of their governments on any item before the Assembly.

At the conclusion of the 32nd Assembly's general debate on October 11, the Assembly President (Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia) announced that the PLO had asked to reply to Israeli Foreign Minister Dayan's speech of the previous day. The President said he would give the PLO the floor on the basis of the General Assembly resolution⁵/granting observer status to the PLO, and in particular on the basis of a statement made on September 29, 1976, by Hamilton S. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, President of the 31st General Assembly. In that statement President Amerasinghe had announced that the question had been raised whether observers could participate in the general debate. He said that, as a result of consultations, an understanding had been reached that "in order to avoid creating a precedent that could give rise to certain problems and could prolong a general debate beyond the period allotted to it," the matter would not be pursued. He continued, however, by saying that "if any speaker in the course of the general debate should make any remarks which call for a reply from an observer, I shall call on that observer in the plenary Assembly so that he may reply." President Mojsov pointed out that this last sentence had not been challenged and that it thus "stands as a decision by the General Assembly."

Both the United States and Israel spoke on points of order.

⁵/ Resolution 3237, adopted by the 29th General Assembly on Nov. 22, 1974.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Allard K. Lowenstein, recalled"

". . . the consistent position of the United States that only representatives of member states are qualified to participate in the general debate. We believe this is a sound practice which contributes to a more effective and expeditious general debate."

The Israeli Representative objected to giving the floor to the PLO, recalling that rule 73 of the General Assembly's rules of procedure made the right of reply in the plenary available to members, and to no one else. The President ruled that neither of these points of order constituted an appeal, requiring a vote. He then called on the PLO Representative who delivered a short statement.

Israeli Settlements

In a letter dated August 25, Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy requested the inclusion of an additional item in the agenda of the 32nd General Assembly entitled "Recent illegal Israeli measures in the occupied Arab territories designed to change the legal status, geographical nature, and demographic composition of those territories in contravention of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, of Israel's international obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949,⁶/and of United Nations resolutions, and obstruction of efforts aimed at achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

During the General Committee's consideration of this request, Ambassador Leonard said that the United States had long held that UN members should be able to have issues they consider important inscribed on the agenda in the absence of overriding considerations to the contrary. Accordingly, the United States would not object to inscription of the item. He noted, however, that the wording of the proposed item was not in accord with usual General Assembly practice, which is to describe in a short and straightforward fashion the issue to be discussed. He concluded that the language used could jeopardize the objectivity of the debate, and he said that the United States considered it to be inappropriate.

In the absence of any objection, the General Committee inscribed the item and assigned it to plenary without reference to a main committee. The General Assembly debated this question from October 26 to 28; 46 states and the PLO took part. An additional seven states spoke in explanation of vote.

The Egyptian Representative opened the debate with a speech in which he characterized Israeli policies as those of "occupation and annexation." He also introduced a draft resolution strongly deploring Israeli settlements. The draft, ultimately sponsored by 74 states, determined that measures taken by Israel to change the legal status, geographical nature, and demographic composition of the "Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967" had no legal validity and were an obstruction to peace. The resol-

⁶/ Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.

ution called upon Israel to desist from taking any further such actions and to comply strictly with its international obligations under the Fourth Geneva Convention. It further requested the Secretary General to contact the Government of Israel to ensure prompt implementation of the resolution and to submit a report to the General Assembly and the Security Council by December 31, 1977, on the results of his contacts. Finally, the Security Council was requested to review the situation in light of the resolution and the Secretary General's report.

Also speaking on the 26th, Israel said that the Arab States which had occupied the territories from 1948 to 1967 had not thereby gained sovereignty over them and that the Fourth Geneva Convention did not apply.

On October 28 Ambassador Young said that the issue under consideration had been a matter of deep concern to the U.S. Government since 1967. The consistent position enunciated by U.S. representatives contained two elements. First, the United States was opposed to these settlements because they could be perceived as prejudging the outcome of negotiations to deal with the territorial aspects of final peace treaties, and thus would inevitably complicate the already difficult process of negotiation. Second, the United States believed that Israeli civilian settlements in the occupied territories were inconsistent with international law as defined in the Fourth Geneva Convention. Ambassador Young noted that the draft resolution before the Assembly was consistent in most respects with the U.S. position. He concluded, however, that the United States would abstain on the resolution because its special responsibility as cochairman of the Geneva Conference required that it remain impartial and stand apart from any effort which could be understood as involving the complex issues which would be considered at Geneva.

On October 28 the Assembly adopted the resolution by a roll-call vote of 131 to 1 (Israel), with 7 abstentions (Costa Rica, Fiji, Guatemala, Malawi, Nicaragua, Papua new Guinea, U.S.).^{7/}

Situation in the Middle East

The debate on the situation in the Middle East was overshadowed in the 32nd General Assembly by the dramatic visit of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat to Israel, November 19-21. Syria opened the debate on November 22 with a bitter personal attack on the Egyptian President which inspired the Egyptian Representative to leave the chamber. Most other speakers took a more moderate approach. Many urged the early reconvening of the Geneva Conference and a wait-and-see approach to the Sadat initiative. The debate continued through November 25 with the participation of 55 states and the PLO.

^{7/} Resolution 32/5. On Dec. 30 the Secretary General reported that he had been in contact with the Permanent Representative of Israel who had informed him that the position and views of his government regarding the resolution had been explained in the course of the Assembly's debate.

A draft resolution, initiated by Cuba, Malagasy Republic, and Sri Lanka and ultimately sponsored by 33 states, condemned Israel's continued occupation of Arab territories. It also called for an early reconvening of the Geneva Conference with the participation "on an equal footing" of the PLO; urged the parties to work toward a comprehensive settlement worked out with the participation of all parties concerned; and requested the Security Council "in the exercise of its responsibilities under the Charter" to take measures to ensure implementation of relevant UN resolutions.

Ambassador Young spoke on November 24. He praised President Sadat's "simple yet dramatic act" and the warm Israeli welcome accorded him. He said that the prospects for a just and durable peace had thereby been significantly advanced, and he urged all the parties to maintain the new momentum toward peace. He suggested that the Assembly draw a lesson from these events and declare a moratorium on the extreme rhetoric of the past. He concluded by questioning whether the Assembly, if it genuinely wanted to support the search for peace, could afford to repeat the practice of adopting resolutions to score pyrrhic victories regardless of their ultimate effect.

On November 25 the Assembly adopted the resolution by a roll-call vote of 102 to 4 (Canada, El Salvador, Israel, U.S.), with 29 abstentions.^{8/}

Question Of Palestine

The General Assembly took up the question of Palestine on November 28. The Chairman and Rapporteur of the Palestinian Rights Committee introduced the report of the Committee and announced that the recommendations of the Committee for a solution to the Palestinian problem remained unchanged from the previous year. The debate continued through December 2 with the participation of representatives of 55 states and the PLO.

On December 1 Vietnam introduced two draft resolutions. The first, eventually sponsored by 31 states, was very similar to one adopted by the Assembly at its 31st session. It endorsed the Committee's recommendations, urged the Security Council to take a decision on these recommendations as soon as possible, and extended the mandate of the Committee for an additional year.

The second draft resolution, eventually sponsored by 25 states, requested the Secretary General to establish within the UN Secretariat a Special Unit on Palestinian Rights. This special unit would, under the guidance of the Committee, prepare studies and publications on Palestinian rights, promote maximum publicity for these publications, and organize an annual observance of November 29 as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People.

On December 2 the U.S. Representative, Congressman Lester L. Wolff, said the views of the U.S. Government on the Palestinian question were well known. In any event, he said, the attention of the world in regard to the Middle East was directed elsewhere. The

^{8/} Resolution 32/20.

events of recent weeks--the Sadat visit to Israel and his call for a conference of all the parties in Cairo--were altering the Middle East political scene in ways that no one could yet foresee, but which the United States hoped would quicken the process of Arab-Israeli rapprochement and lead to a comprehensive settlement. He criticized the Palestinian Rights Committee and its backers for attempting to dictate to Israel and its Arab neighbors the form and substance of negotiations at a time when they were working toward peace through direct negotiations. Congressman Wolff also stated that the Committee and the special unit to be created in the Secretariat would cost the United Nations over \$800,000 at a time when the organization was experiencing a serious financial deficit.

On December 2 the Assembly adopted the resolution extending the mandate of the Committee by a recorded vote of 100 to 12 (Israel, U.S.), with 29 abstentions.^{9/} The resolution to establish a special unit in the Secretariat was adopted by a recorded vote of 95 to 20 (Israel, U.S.), with 26 abstentions.^{10/}

UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East

On March 31, 1977, Sir John Rennie (U.K.) retired as Commissioner General of UNRWA, a post he had held since May 1971. He was succeeded by Thomas W. McElhiney (U.S.), who had served as Deputy Commissioner General in the preceding 3 years. UNRWA headquarters, which had been moved partly to Amman and partly to Vienna during the civil war in Lebanon, was being reassembled in Beirut at the end of the year.

During 1977 UNRWA continued to struggle with a difficult financial situation caused by a shortfall in voluntary contributions and complicated by world inflation and adverse currency exchange rates. UNRWA's estimated budget for 1977 to maintain the normal level of services to the refugees was \$133.4 million. However, its income was only an estimated \$122.9 million by December, which resulted in a cutback of \$10.5 million. In December the Commissioner General estimated that to meet all its needs in 1978 UNRWA would require \$152.7 million.

The Special Political Committee of the 32nd General Assembly met 12 times between October 27 and November 15 to consider UNRWA and other topics customarily associated with it. The Committee had before it the report of the Commissioner General of UNRWA, reports by the Secretary General on Israel's compliance with provisions of earlier resolutions concerning the population and refugees displaced since 1967, the report of the UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine (PCC),^{11/} and the report of the Working Group on the Financing of UNRWA.

^{9/} Resolution 32/40 A.

^{10/} Resolution 32/40 B.

^{11/} The PCC was established by the third General Assembly in resolution 194, adopted Dec. 11, 1948; its three members are France, Turkey, and the United States.

In opening the debate on October 27 the Commissioner General emphasized UNRWA's precarious and chronic financial position. When its income was insufficient, he said, it had no alternative to cutting back on services in the three areas of its responsibility--education, relief, and health care. He noted that because of the short-fall in expected contributions during 1977 UNRWA was in the process of reducing basic rations for the rest of the year and eliminating other expenditures from the budget. No administrative procedures could guarantee adequate income, but he proposed to institute a system of 3-year forward planning which would provide precise information on UNRWA's needs to all member states and would make clear to each government what level of contribution, combined with contributions from others, would meet those needs. At least every 3 months UNRWA would inform contributing governments of the results of its solicitations and of any adjustments required in its budgeted expenditures. He concluded by expressing the hope that a just settlement in the Middle East would eliminate the need for UNRWA's services. Meanwhile, however, there was need not only for the services but for the resources required to provide them.

Forty-four states and the PLO took part in the Special Political Committee's debate, which focused on UNRWA's financial difficulties, but covered a broad range of Middle East political problems as well. The Committee approved six draft resolutions, five of which were similar to resolutions adopted in previous years, while the sixth dealt with financial assistance for higher education of Palestinian refugees.

U.S. Draft Resolution. In introducing a draft resolution on November 7, the U.S. Representative, Marjorie Craig Benton, noted the ever increasing demands on UNRWA's limited resources. She declared that the United Nations must assure that UNRWA could provide those in need with necessary basic services "so long as there is no peaceful solution to the political problems in the Middle East, of which the situation of the Palestinian refugees is a reflection." She pointed out that U.S. contributions to the agency since its creation totaled some \$712 million, and expressed deep concern that international support for UNRWA continued to be very uneven. She hoped that the Commissioner General's procedure for forward planning would help correct this situation, for if UNRWA was to meet its budgeted financial commitments it must be able to count on assured financial support at a given level for a specified period of time. She appealed to those states that could contribute further to do so.

The U.S. draft resolution, entitled "Assistance to Palestinian refugees," was very similar to resolutions sponsored by the United States in previous years. It (1) noted with deep regret that repatriation or compensation of the refugees as provided for in paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194 adopted in 1948 had not been effected, and that no progress had been made in the program endorsed by the Assembly in 1952 for the reintegration of refugees either by repatriation or resettlement; (2) expressed sincere appreciation to Sir John Rennie for his dedicated services to the welfare of the refugees during the past 9 years; (3) expressed thanks to UNRWA, the specialized agencies, and private organizations for their valuable work in assisting the refugees; (4) noted with regret that the PCC had been unable to find means of achieving

progress in the implementation of paragraph 11 of resolution 194^{12/} and requested it to continue its efforts to do so; (5) directed attention to the continuing seriousness of UNRWA's financial position; (6) expressed concern that despite efforts to collect additional contributions, UNRWA's income was still insufficient to cover expenses and, at the present level of giving, deficits would incur each year; (7) called upon all governments urgently to respond generously to UNRWA's needs, particularly in the light of the budgetary deficit projected in the Commissioner General's report; and (8) decided to extend the mandate of UNRWA until June 30, 1981.

The draft resolution was approved on November 10 by a recorded vote of 100 (U.S.) to 0, with 2 abstentions (Benin,^{13/} Israel), and adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session on December 13 by a recorded vote of 122 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (Israel).^{14/}

Assistance to Persons Displaced in 1967. Sweden introduced a draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by 17 states, that reaffirmed previous resolutions on this subject, again endorsed the efforts of UNRWA to continue to provide humanitarian assistance on a temporary emergency basis to those in need as a result of the 1967 hostilities, and strongly appealed to Governments, organizations, and individuals to contribute generously for these purposes to UNRWA and to the other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations concerned.

The resolution was approved unanimously in the Committee on November 10 and adopted by the Assembly without vote on December 13.^{15/}

UNRWA Finances. The Working Group on the Financing of UNRWA^{16/} was established by the 25th General Assembly in December 1970 and has been renewed annually by each General Assembly since. Although the financial difficulties of UNRWA in 1977 were severe, by making reductions in the flour ration and other budgeted expenditures, UNRWA managed to avoid total suspension of its services. In its October 19 report to the General Assembly the Working Group again emphasized the gravity of UNRWA's financial situation, approved the new forward planning procedure for solicitation of contributions, and concluded that a situation whereby a small group of countries bore the major burden of financing UNRWA's budget no longer corresponded with the requirements of the situation and was inconsistent with the terms of the resolution by which the Assembly in 1974 had

^{12/} On Sept. 30 the PCC reported to the General Assembly that implementation of paragraph 11 of resolution 194 presupposed substantial changes in the situation, and that while the diplomatic activity directed toward finding a just and lasting peace in the Middle East had been resumed, the circumstances governing the possibilities open to the Commission remained essentially unchanged.

^{13/} Benin later said it had intended to vote in favor.

^{14/} Resolution 32/90 A.

^{15/} Resolution 32/90 B.

^{16/} France, Ghana, Japan, Lebanon, Norway, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey (Chairman), United Kingdom, United States.

renewed UNRWA's mandate for another 3 years. The Group therefore urgently called for larger contributions from those who had contributed inadequately or not at all.

On November 10 Iran introduced a draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by 15 states, that commended the Working Group for its work and requested it to continue its efforts for a further period of 1 year. The resolution was approved unanimously by the Committee on November 10 and adopted by the Assembly without vote on December 13.^{17/}

Israeli Actions Toward Palestinian Refugees. On November 10 Yugoslavia introduced a draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by eight states, on "Palestine refugees in the Gaza Strip," and Afghanistan introduced a draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by nine states, on "Population and refugees displaced since 1967." The two drafts were virtually identical to resolutions adopted at the 31st General Assembly on the same subjects.

The eight-power draft resolution called upon Israel (1) to take effective steps immediately for the return of the refugees concerned to the camps from which they were removed in the Gaza Strip and to provide adequate shelters for their accommodation; and (2) to desist from further removal of refugees and destruction of their shelters.

The Committee approved the draft on November 11 by a recorded vote of 101 to 1 (Israel), with 4 abstentions (U.S.), and the Assembly adopted it on December 13 by a recorded vote of 119 to 1 (Israel), with 4 abstentions (U.S.).^{18/} In explaining the U.S. abstention, Mrs. Benton said in the Special Political Committee that the United States considered it illogical that a resolution which purported to relieve the plight of refugees called for their return to camps. She added, "It seems anomalous to ask Israel to return to camps those refugees who have found or been provided with more adequate housing outside the camps even if they do not wish to return to camp existence."

The nine-power draft (1) reaffirmed the right of the displaced inhabitants to return to their homes and camps in the territories occupied by Israel since 1967; (2) deplored the continued refusal of Israel to help the displaced inhabitants to return; and (3) called once more upon Israel (a) to take immediate steps for the return of the displaced inhabitants, and (b) to desist from all measures obstructing the return of the displaced inhabitants and affecting the physical and demographic structure of the occupied territories.

The resolution was approved in the Committee on November 11 by a recorded vote of 103 (U.S.) to 1 (Israel), with 2 abstentions (Costa Rica, Nicaragua), and adopted by the Assembly on December 13 by a recorded vote of 125 (U.S.) to 1 (Israel), with no abstentions.^{19/}

^{17/} Resolution 32/90 D.

^{18/} Resolution 32/90 C.

^{19/} Resolution 32/90 E.

Financial Assistance for Higher Education. On November 11 Jordan introduced a draft resolution entitled "Offers by member states of grants and scholarships for higher education including vocational training for the Palestinian refugees." This resolution (1) expressed appreciation to member states that had provided scholarships to Palestinian refugees; (2) appealed to all states to make special allocations, scholarships, and grants in addition to their regular contributions to UNRWA; (3) invited relevant UN agencies to consider the inclusion, within their respective spheres of competence, of assistance for higher education for Palestinian refugee students; and (4) requested UNRWA to act as recipient and trustee for these special allocations and scholarships and to award them to qualified candidates.

The resolution was approved unanimously by the Committee on November 15 and adopted without vote by the Assembly on December 13.^{20/}

UNRWA Pledging Conference. At UNRWA's annual pledging conference, held on December 6, 41 states pledged contributions in cash or kind totaling the equivalent of \$85,773,000 compared to \$63,115,490 which had been pledged at the 1976 conference. The conference opened with appeals by the General Assembly President and the UNRWA Commissioner General for generous contributions in view of the serious financial situation of UNRWA and the increased budget for 1978.

Congressman Charles W. Whalen, Jr., announced a U.S. contribution for 1978 of \$42.5 million. (In 1977 the United States contributed \$48.7 million.) In making the U.S. pledge, Mr. Whalen said that "UNRWA has been an important factor in international efforts to achieve an equitable resolution of harshly divisive political problems." Warning that "the lack of adequate resources can and has seriously threatened the very existence of the Agency," he urged other governments to contribute to the limits of their resources so that UNRWA could continue its important work.^{21/}

Israeli Practices in Occupied Territories

The Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories was established by the General Assembly in 1968; its members in 1977 were Senegal, Sri Lanka, and Yugoslavia. The Committee has never been permitted to visit either Israel or the occupied territories because Israel considers both it and its mandate biased. In 1977, as in previous years, the Committee's report was based on the examination of press material, reports submitted by governments and

^{20/} Resolution 32/90 F.

^{21/} The \$42.5 million authorized by the Congress was a reduction of \$9.5 million from the amount requested by the Administration. In making this reduction, the Congress authorized its staff to make a study to determine whether the direction and use of the U.S. contribution was sufficient and proper, and whether other countries were contributing according to their capacity and interest. Upon completion of this study, the Congress would determine whether additional funding should be approved for fiscal year 1978.

nongovernmental bodies, and testimony from individuals either by mail or during hearings held in Geneva.

The Special Political Committee of the 32nd General Assembly considered the Special Committee's report at 12 meetings between November 14 and 29; 41 states and the PLO took part in the debate. Three draft resolutions were introduced, all similar to those adopted in previous years. All were approved by rollcall votes on November 29 and subsequently adopted by the Assembly in plenary session by recorded votes on December 13.

The first resolution, ultimately sponsored by 13 states, reaffirmed that the Fourth Geneva Convention is applicable to all the occupied territories and called on Israel to acknowledge and comply with its provisions. It was approved in committee by a vote of 114 (U.S.) to 1 (Israel), with no abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly by a vote of 132 (U.S.) to 1 (Israel), with 1 abstention (Malawi).^{22/}

The second draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by 15 states, condemned Israel's allegedly deliberate destruction of the Syrian city of Quneitra prior to the Israeli withdrawal in 1974. It also reaffirmed that Syria was entitled to full and adequate compensation. It was approved in committee by a vote of 83 to 1 (Israel), with 33 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted in plenary by a vote of 96 to 1 (Israel), with 37 abstentions (U.S.).^{23/}

The third resolution, ultimately sponsored by 13 states, condemned a variety of alleged Israeli policies and practices in the occupied territories, including the annexation of parts of the territories, establishment of settlements therein, deportations of Arab inhabitants and denial of their right to return, confiscation of property, destruction of Arab houses, mass arrests, torture of prisoners, pillaging of archaeological property, interference with religious freedoms and practices, and illegal exploitation of natural resources. The resolution also demanded that Israel desist from these alleged policies and practices. Finally, it extended the mandate of the Special Committee for an additional year. The resolution was approved in committee by a vote of 84 to 2 (Israel, U.S.), with 30 abstentions, and adopted in plenary by a vote of 98 to 2 (Israel, U.S.), with 32 abstentions.^{24/}

In a statement after the vote in the First Committee on November 29 Mrs. Benton explained the U.S. position on the three resolutions. The United States, she said, had voted in favor of the first resolution because it had long held that the Fourth Geneva Convention applied throughout the territories occupied since 1967. Regarding the Quneitra resolution, she said that the United States considered the allegations contained in the resolution to be serious. However, the United States believed that the question of compensation was one which must be addressed by the parties in the context of a

^{22/} Resolution 32/91 A.

^{23/} Resolution 32/91 B.

^{24/} Resolution 32/91 C.

final settlement and that it should not be prejudged by the Committee. The United States had voted against the third resolution because it contained allegations which had not been adequately verified. She added that the United States believed that the report on which the resolution was based presented a selective version of conditions in the occupied territories and drew extensively on questionable sources of information.

CYPRUS

Intercommunal Talks

During the first half of 1977, intercommunal talks between the representatives of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities took place under UN auspices in Vienna and Nicosia. However, little progress toward a Cyprus settlement was made as a result of the parties' continuing disagreement on fundamental substantive issues.

The first round of a new series of talks was held at Vienna March 31 - April 7 under the auspices of the Secretary General. The Greek Cypriot side submitted a proposal on territorial issues, while the Turkish Cypriot side submitted a constitutional proposal. The discussions did not lead to agreement on these issues, and it was agreed that the talks would resume in Nicosia under the auspices of the Secretary General's Special Representative, Javier Perez de Cuellar.

Three meetings were held in Nicosia between May 20 and June 3. These produced no progress on the substantive issues and it was decided to fix a date for a resumption of these meetings after the return of the Special Representative from New York in July. Following his return on July 8, the Special Representative approached the representatives of the two communities. Tassos Papadopoulos, the Greek Cypriot representative, while expressing his readiness to resume the meetings in Nicosia in the second half of July, considered that scheduling of additional meetings would have to wait until the Turkish Cypriot side was prepared to give equal weight to discussions on territorial and constitutional issues and come forward with concrete proposals on the territorial question. Rauf Denktaş, representing the Turkish Cypriots, informed the Special Representative that it was premature to schedule another meeting at that time. The President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, died on August 3. On August 23 Mr. Papadopoulos reaffirmed in a letter to the Special Representative that his side remained firmly committed to the process of the intercommunal talks and was ready to continue the discussions as agreed in April. The Turkish Cypriot position, as stated by Umit Suleiman Onan on August 28, was that the Greek Cypriot side had led the talks into a deadlock by imposing an economic and political blockade on the Turkish Cypriots. Nevertheless, he said that the Turkish side continued to regard the intercommunal talks as the only way to find a solution to the Cyprus problem.

During the UN General Assembly the Secretary General undertook a series of consultations in New York in an effort to assess the possibility of resuming negotiations as soon as possible on the basis of comprehensive and concrete proposals. He held discussions

with the President of Cyprus, the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey, and the representative of the Turkish Cypriot community. His Special Representative pursued these consultations in Nicosia, Ankara, and Athens in November and early December prior to his departure from Cyprus to return to service with his government.

As the year ended, no agreement had been reached to resume the intercommunal talks, as each side waited for the other to come forth with proposals that would permit renewal of the negotiations.

Security Council Meetings on the Cyprus Question

At the request of the Cyprus Government, the Security Council met seven times between August 31 and September 15 to consider charges that the Turkish Government was preparing to resettle part of the new section of Famagusta. After considerable debate and protracted consultations, the Council succeeded in achieving a resolution acceptable to all the parties in the Cyprus dispute and to all members of the Council. This resolution was introduced and adopted without a vote on September 15.^{25/}

Among other provisions, the resolution: (1) expressed concern at the situation caused by recent developments; (2) called upon the parties to refrain from all unilateral actions anywhere in Cyprus that might affect adversely the prospects for a solution of the Cyprus problem; (3) expressed concern at the lack of progress in the intercommunal talks; and (4) called on the two communities under the auspices of the Secretary General to resume negotiations as soon as possible on the basis of comprehensive and concrete proposals.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Leonard, said on September 15 that the United States had from the beginning sought an outcome which would reflect a consensus among the Council members. He stated that the assurance of Vedat Chelik, speaking on behalf of the Turkish Cypriot community, that no resettlement of the new section of Famagusta was under way was especially welcome in view of the concern expressed by members of the Council. Reaffirming that the United States "will do all that it possibly can to encourage the earliest possible resumption of the intercommunal talks," he concluded by expressing the hope that the debate would mark the renewal of concerted efforts by the two communities to work out a solution through direct negotiations.

Extensions of UNFICYP

UNFICYP, the UN peacekeeping force on Cyprus, continued its operations on the island throughout 1977. In June, and again in December, the Security Council extended the Force after considering reports by the Secretary General covering the preceding 6 months. The Secretary General reported that UNFICYP had sought to prevent a recurrence of fighting by supervision of the cease-fire lines between the Turkish forces and the Cypriot National Guard and by

providing security to farmers, shepherds, and others of both communities working in the area between the cease-fire lines. Inter-communal incidents declined considerably, and the Secretary General reported that there were no serious incidents in either 6-month period. In addition to other humanitarian activities, UNFICYP continued to provide logistical support to the humanitarian relief efforts of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees on the island and, to the extent possible, provided protection for the minorities residing in the Greek and Turkish zones of control.

UNFICYP's strength was reduced during the year from 2,798 on December 6, 1976, to 2,488 on November 30, 1977.^{26/} The Force, including both military personnel and civilian police, was composed of contingents from Austria, Australia, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, and the United Kingdom; Finland and Ireland continued to provide personnel for UNFICYP headquarters staff. UNFICYP remained under the command of Major General James Joseph Quinn.

UNFICYP continued to depend entirely on voluntary contributions for its support. The United States contributed \$9.6 million toward its support in 1977. The Secretary General called attention in his reports to the increasingly critical financial situation of the Force and referred to appeals he had addressed to a number of selected Governments, requesting them to increase their voluntary contributions. Despite these appeals, he said, contributions still fell short of the requirements. As a result, the deficit in the budget had reached almost \$57 million by the end of the year.

By identical votes of 14 (U.S.) to 0, with China not participating, the Security Council adopted resolutions on June 15^{27/} and December 15^{28/} that were virtually the same as those of earlier years. Each extended the mandate of UNFICYP for an additional 6 months; urged the parties to avoid any action likely to affect adversely the prospects of negotiations and to continue and accelerate determined cooperative efforts; and appealed again to all parties to extend their fullest cooperation to enable UNFICYP to perform its duties effectively.

Speaking on December 16, Ambassador Leonard reaffirmed U.S. support for UNFICYP and urged those countries that have a special responsibility to maintain international peace "to consider their larger interests in stability in the eastern Mediterranean and on that basis to contribute their share of UNFICYP's costs." He commended UNFICYP and its officers and men. However, he cautioned that the presence of UNFICYP should not become an excuse for political inactivity or a substitute for serious negotiation, observing that the parties must come to grips with the central political issues that must be resolved in a peaceful settlement. He urged support for the Secretary General in his efforts to achieve a resumption of serious negotiations as soon as feasible. In concluding, he paid special tribute to the Secretary General's Special Represent-

^{26/} The Finnish battalion left Cyprus on Oct. 31.

^{27/} Resolution 410 (1977).

^{28/} Resolution 422 (1977).

ative, Ambassador Perez de Cuellar, whose departure was deeply regretted.

General Assembly Consideration

The General Assembly had decided in 1976 to consider the "Question of Cyprus" again in 1977. The procedure used since 1974 was again followed, whereby the item was considered directly in plenary, and the Special Political Committee met to afford representatives of the Cypriot communities the opportunity to express their views.

Turkey strongly objected to this procedure and requested a recorded vote on the allocation of the item when the General Committee made its report to the plenary Assembly on September 23. Turkey maintained that equal treatment demanded that representatives of the two communities be heard in the same forum, and it considered that discussion of the item in plenary would be "unjust, politically unwise and. . . an impediment to a constructive debate." The Assembly, however, approved the General committee's recommendation by a vote of 69 (Cyprus, Greece) to 3 (Jordan, Pakistan, Turkey), with 49 abstentions (U.S.). When the Special Political Committee met on November 7, the Turkish Cypriot representative did not participate.

The "Question of Cyprus" was considered by the Assembly at six meetings between November 7 and 9; 48 states took part in the debate. Speaking on November 9, the U.S. Representative, John Clifford Kennedy, stressed that the United States remained firmly committed to the objective of a just and lasting settlement which could be achieved only through serious, sustained negotiations between the two communities under the aegis of the Secretary General. He noted that the United States has actively encouraged a resumption of intercommunal talks. He stated, however, that the United States could not support the draft resolution on Cyprus (see below) since it exaggerated the threat of the Cyprus situation to international security and over-emphasized the role of the Security Council in the Cyprus matter at the present time. He concluded that it was important for the Assembly to concentrate on the prospects that existed for achieving progress in the months ahead rather than dwell on the problems that had impeded progress to date.

On November 9, the Assembly adopted, by a recorded vote of 116 (Cyprus, Greece) to 6 (Turkey), with 20 abstentions (U.S.), a resolution²⁹/sponsored by 11 nonaligned states. In its most important paragraphs the resolution: (1) called for implementation of General Assembly resolution 3212 (adopted in 1974 and calling, inter alia, for withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island); (2) called on all parties to cooperate with the Secretary General in this regard; (3) called for the urgent resumption of the negotiations on the basis of "comprehensive and concrete proposals of the parties concerned"; (4) recommended that the Security Council keep the question of Cyprus under constant review and "adopt all

practical means to promote the effective implementation of its relevant resolutions in all their aspects"; and (5) inscribed the "Question of Cyprus" in the agenda of the 33rd session of the General Assembly.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICIES OF APARTHEID

Security Council

The Security Council devoted three series of meetings to the question of South Africa during 1977. The first of these included nine meetings, from March 21 through 31, but concluded without adopting any resolution. It was particularly notable for its informal contacts between the African representatives and those of the West during a period when the Carter Administration, in formulating its policies on southern Africa, began exploring in earnest the possibilities within the UN for progress in Africa.

The substance and general language of the four resolutions proposed by the African Group had been the subject of considerable informal discussion for several weeks prior to their presentation. There was broad variation in the scope of the four draft resolutions sponsored by Benin, Mauritius, and Libya--the African representatives on the Security Council.

The first draft resolution condemned South Africa for resorting to massive violence and repression against blacks in South Africa, demanded the abolition of apartheid and indiscriminate violence, and expressed solidarity with all those struggling to end apartheid.

The second declared that South Africa has flagrantly violated the UN Charter by failing to withdraw from Namibia, consistently violated Rhodesian sanctions, and committed aggression against Angola and Zambia. It urgently called for South African compliance with the UN Charter and relevant Security Council resolutions which, if not met, would result in appropriate Security Council action under all provisions of the Charter including Chapter VII³⁰/and the membership provisions that allow for suspension of a member's rights and privileges, or its expulsion.

The third draft resolution stated that South Africa's military buildup and persistent acts of aggression against its neighbors pose a threat to international peace and security and called for the implementation under Chapter VII of the UN Charter of a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa.

The fourth draft recommended the cessation of new foreign investment in South Africa and other measures to discourage economic cooperation in order to dissuade South Africa from pursuing its apartheid policies.

³⁰ / Chapter VII provides that the Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and prescribes measures that may be taken to maintain or restore international peace and security.

The Western members of the Security Council, disagreeing among themselves as to certain aspects of the proposed Chapter VII actions, and concerned that particularly harsh condemnations of South African "aggression" especially since they could adversely affect initiatives on Namibia and Rhodesia which would require South African cooperation, decided upon a proposed alternative course of action for the Council. The West prepared a draft declaration on South Africa as a statement of Security Council principles related to the points contained in the first African draft resolution.

After extensive negotiations with the African Group, outside the Security Council, concerning the text of the draft declaration, the Africans offered a counter text which differed substantively from the Western text primarily in its emphasis on the need for assistance to liberation movements recognized by the OAU, its insistence that member states cease economic relations with South Africa, and its desire to deal with the "people" rather than the "government" of South Africa in devising solutions to the problems of southern Africa.

Further informal discussions were unable to resolve the substantive differences and the matter of a Security Council declaration was permitted to lapse. At the same time the Africans, aware of the beginnings of Western actions on Namibia and Rhodesia, were unwilling to bring their four draft resolutions to a vote in the Council where some or all of them would be subject to veto by the permanent members among the Western group. Therefore it was agreed, also informally, that the four resolutions would remain tabled, without a vote, pending future Security Council consideration of the question of South Africa. The Council concluded this series of meetings on that basis.

In the wake of the furor in South Africa and internationally over the death in detention of black consciousness leader Steven Biko and South Africa's October 19 order banning a number of black publications and arresting black media leaders, the African Group on October 20 requested that the Security Council be convened to resume consideration of the question of South Africa. The Council met ten times from October 24 to November 4 and heard a number of speakers, including the representatives of the two South African liberation movements, the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, call for the full range of sanctions against South Africa.

On October 31 the Council voted on the four condemnatory resolutions, revised somewhat to reflect events since they were first submitted to the Council in March. The first draft resolution, condemning South Africa and apartheid in general terms, was adopted unanimously.^{31/} The remaining three failed 10 to 5 (U.S.) due to the vetoes of the three Western permanent members of the Council. Reasons for Western opposition were unchanged from those stated in March.

A draft resolution which would impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa was agreed upon among the Western members and

^{31/} Resolution 417 (1977).

submitted to the Council, sponsored by Canada and the Federal Republic of Germany. However, the African Group was dissatisfied with the Western draft because it did not go far enough in enumerating the reasons for--and actions to be prescribed under--a Chapter VII finding.

Following intense consultations, a consensus on a new draft resolution was reached. On November 4, the Council unanimously adopted the resolution³²/which, *inter alia*, (1) determined that the acquisition by South Africa of arms and related material constitutes a threat to the maintenance of international peace and security (and thus constituted grounds for action under Chapter VII); (2) decided that all states shall cease forthwith the provision to South Africa of arms, related material, equipment and supplies and arms licensing arrangements; (3) further decided that all states shall refrain from cooperation with South Africa in the manufacture and development of nuclear weapons; (4) called upon all states to review existing licensing and contractual arrangements for arms and related material with a view to terminating them; and (5) requested the Secretary General to report to the Council on the implementation of the resolution no later than May 1, 1978.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Young, made two statements before the Council during the debate. On October 31, referring to the October 19 banning orders, he said,

"... My Government has reluctantly but firmly concluded that the international community must now take steps to ensure that the flow of arms into South Africa does not add to a level of tension which is already endangering international peace. My Government is therefore prepared to join with others in supporting Security Council action to establish a mandatory arms embargo under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

"... In addition we are undertaking a thorough review of our relations with South Africa in all areas, including the area of nuclear cooperation. The possibility that South Africa might explode a nuclear device and develop a nuclear weapons capability has been of gravest concern to my Government as it has to all members of the international community.

"... As we take these major steps, we [should] make it clear to South Africa what we are and what we are not asking it to do.

"First, we are not, as some South African officials contend, asking that South African society destroy itself. Without condoning the philosophical underpinning of the South African state, we must admire the accomplishments of the talented people of South Africa, black and white, in developing a modern industrial economy which could, if its leaders so desired, bring great benefits not only to the people of South Africa but to the rest of Africa as well.

"Second, we lay out no predetermined formula for the solution of South Africa's problems. Third, we do not ask, nor has any African spokesman in this Council, that white South Africans forsake the country they have helped to build. What we do challenge is the blanket denial of the rights of the black majority to participate in the shaping of their destiny. . . .

"The outside world can help, but the answer to South Africa's problems must be found by South Africans themselves. . ."

The African states having expressed concern at the need for a mechanism to oversee compliance with the mandatory arms embargo, the Security Council met on December 9 to consider a draft resolution proposed by Benin, Libya, and Mauritius which would create an oversight committee, similar to that which monitors compliance with sanctions against Rhodesia. The Council unanimously adopted the resolution³³/which, inter alia, (1) established a committee, consisting of all the members of the Security Council, to examine the report on implementation of resolution 418 (1977) to be submitted by the Secretary General, study ways by which the mandatory arms embargo could be made more effective, and seek further information concerning complementary actions taken by all states; (2) called upon all states to cooperate fully with the committee; and (3) requested the Secretary General to provide all necessary assistance to the committee including staffing from the Secretariat.

After the resolution was adopted the U.S. Representative, Richard W. Petree, reminded the Security Council that, " . . . Final responsibility for observance of that embargo rests with individual states consonant with their obligations under the United Nations Charter. For its part, the United States intends scrupulously to observe the arms embargo and urges all other states to do so also."

General Assembly

The 32nd session of the General Assembly adopted 15 resolutions under the agenda item "Policies of Apartheid of the Government of South Africa," an item which has been on the agenda every year since 1952. As at the preceding 31st session, resolutions dealing with apartheid were introduced directly in plenary with representatives of southern African liberation movements participating as observers, to demonstrate the seriousness with which the United Nations regards the problem. Although the resolutions were introduced without reference to a main committee, they were based upon the reports of the Special Committee Against Apartheid³⁴/--its regular report and special reports dealing with the Second International Trade Union Conference for Action Against Apartheid, the International Anti-Apartheid Year, and Relations between Israel and South Africa.

³³/ Resolution 421 (1977).

³⁴/ The Special Committee Against Apartheid was established by the General Assembly in 1962 as the "Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa."
(Continued)

In his November 17 statement during debate on the resolutions, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Donald F. McHenry, restated the U.S. position on South Africa when he said:

"... We must recognize that in the final analysis a lasting solution to the problems of South Africa must emerge from a dialogue among all of the citizens of that country. The international community has no more right to impose a political organization on that country than does South Africa's white minority have the right to impose upon the black majority.

"Finally, we must retain our hope that the spiral of repression and violence will end, that South Africans will finally realize that just as other societies, my own included, found it possible to make progress toward the resolution of the seemingly intractable, so can South Africans, provided they will."

Of the 15 resolutions in connection with the item, all but 1 were adopted on December 14.

On November 21, Finland introduced a draft resolution entitled "UN Trust Fund for South Africa" which was eventually sponsored by 45 states. The resolution³⁵/adopted without vote, expressed appreciation to nations which had Contributed to the Trust Fund and to voluntary agencies rendering assistance to the victims of apartheid. It also appealed for continued and increasing contributions to the Trust Fund and to the appropriate voluntary agencies.

A draft resolution entitled "International Anti-Apartheid Year" was introduced by the Sudan on November 18. Sponsored by 65 states, the resolution³⁶/was adopted unanimously by a rollcall vote of 141 to 0. Among other things, it (1) proclaimed the year beginning March 21, 1978, International Anti-Apartheid Year; (2) endorsed the program for the Year by the Special Committee, as set forth in the annex to the resolution; (3) invited all member states, specialized agencies, intergovernmental and nongovernmental organizations to participate fully in the observance of the Year; (4) urged the Special Committee to take all appropriate measures to promote observance of the Year; (5) requested the Secretary General to encourage the widest possible observance and to assist the Special Committee in its promotion of the Year; and (6) called upon member states to report to the Secretary General on activities organized to mark the Year.

(Footnote continued from p. 23)

Africa." The 18 members in 1977 were Algeria, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nepal, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, and Ukrianian S.S.R.

³⁵ / Resolution 32/105 A.

³⁶ / Resolution 32/105 B.

In a statement after the vote, the U.S. Representative, Congressman Whalen, stated that despite its favorable vote, the U.S. was unable to support in its entirety the program for the International Anti-Apartheid Year.

Yugoslavia introduced a draft resolution on November 18 entitled "Trade Union Action Against Apartheid," which was eventually sponsored by 63 states. Inter alia, it (1) commended the resolution of the Second International Trade Union Conference Against Apartheid³⁷/to the attention of all states, (2) expressed appreciation for trade union action against apartheid, (3) invited trade union organizations to continue their activities against apartheid, and (5) authorized the Special Committee to hold annual meetings with trade union representatives and arrange for the participation of representatives of trade union organizations from southern Africa. The resolution³⁸/was adopted unanimously by a rollcall vote of 138 to 0.

In his statement in explanation of vote, Congressman Whalen said that although the United States had endorsed the resolution it had reservation regarding the resolution adopted by the Second Trade Union Conference for Action Against Apartheid, which it had previously stated.

Algeria introduced a draft resolution on November 21, ultimately sponsored by 52 states, entitled "Relations Between Israel and South Africa." Drawing upon the special report of the Special Committee concerning recent developments in relations between Israel and South Africa, it condemned Israel for its continuing collaboration with South Africa and demanded that Israel cease such collaboration immediately, particularly in the military and nuclear fields. Further, it requested the Special Committee to keep the matter under review and report to the General Assembly and the Security Council as appropriate. The resolution³⁹/was adopted by a rollcall vote of 88 to 19 (U.S.), with 30 abstentions.

Speaking for the United States after the vote, Congressman Whalen said, ". . . we have voted 'no' because of our objection to the singling out of Israel for condemnation. The citing of Israel alone in this context is particularly inappropriate in light of the fact that less than one percent of South Africa's total world trade last year was conducted with Israel."

A fifth draft resolution, on the subject of "Political Prisoners in South Africa," was introduced by Nigeria on November 18 and eventually sponsored by 79 states. The resolution,⁴⁰/adopted without vote, inter alia, (1) strongly condemned South Africa for its oppression of opponents of apartheid and its recent banning orders

³⁷/ The Second International Trade Union Conference for Action Against Apartheid was held at Geneva, June 10-11, 1977.

³⁸/ Resolution 32/105 C.

³⁹/ Resolution 32/105 D.

⁴⁰/ Resolution 32/105 E.

against organizations and information media, (2) reaffirmed its solidarity with South African political prisoners and the special responsibility of the UN and the international community for those struggling against apartheid, and (3) requested the Special Committee to publicize as widely as possible the plight of South African political prisoners and detainees.

Zambia introduced, on November 18, a draft resolution entitled "Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa." Ultimately sponsored by 52 states, the resolution⁴¹ was adopted by a rollcall vote of 113 to 7 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions. The resolution, among other things, (1) expressed regret that the United States, United Kingdom, and France continued to resist a comprehensive embargo on all nuclear and military collaboration with South Africa and called upon all states, and in particular the United States, United Kingdom, and France, to take effective action against South Africa's racist policies; (2) called upon all Governments to adhere completely to the provisions of the Security Council resolution⁴² which established a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, without regard to existing contracts or licenses; (3) requested the Security Council to call upon all states, in addition to their observance of the mandatory arms embargo, to refrain from exchanging military attaches with South Africa and to end the transfer of nuclear or fissionable material to South Africa; and (4) authorized the Special Committee to follow, publicize, and report to the General Assembly any violations of the Security Council resolution which may come to its notice, and to promote the total cessation of any military or nuclear collaboration with South Africa.

The United States voted against this resolution because it did not believe the exchange of military attaches constituted "military collaboration" with the South African Government. Further, the United States believed that the complete cutoff of any nuclear relationship with South Africa would make it more likely that South Africa would develop its own nuclear weapons capacity while seriously reducing the chances of its ratification of the Non-Proliferation Treaty or an agreement to place its nuclear facilities under international safeguards. Finally, the resolution was critical of the United States by name.

A draft resolution on "Economic Collaboration with South Africa" was introduced, on November 18, by Nigeria. Eventually sponsored by 63 states, it was adopted by a rollcall vote of 111 to 7 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions. The resolution⁴³ inter alia, (1) requested the Security Council to consider Chapter VII economic sanctions against South Africa; (2) urged all states to end economic collaboration with South Africa and to prevent such collaboration by corporations within their jurisdiction; (3) encouraged trade unions, churches, anti-apartheid movements, and other organizations in their campaigns against collaboration; and (4) authorized the Special Committee (a) to publicize information on collaboration between South Africa and transnational corporations; (b) to promote,

⁴¹ / Resolution 32/105 F.

⁴² / Resolution 418 (1977).

⁴³ / Resolution 32/105 G.

in cooperation with OAU, an oil embargo against South Africa; and (c) to promote action leading to the termination of all airline and shipping services to South Africa.

The United States voted against the resolution because, in its view, the problem of apartheid was not susceptible to solution through UN sanctions. It was the U.S. position that the internal political policies of a state, no matter how objectionable, cannot alone constitute "a threat to international peace and security" as intended by the UN Charter and therefore cannot constitute a basis for the Chapter VII finding, which would be necessary to impose sanctions.

Nigeria also introduced, on November 18, a draft resolution entitled "Dissemination of Information on Apartheid," which was eventually sponsored by 61 states. The resolution, *inter alia*, (1) requested augmented contributions to the Trust Fund for Publicity Against Apartheid; (2) requested the Secretary General, in cooperation with neighboring African states, to undertake a regular program of radio broadcasts directed at South Africa and concerned with UN efforts against apartheid and in favor of self-determination; (3) urged member states whose transmitters can reach South Africa to make their facilities available for these broadcasts; and (4) requested the Centre Against Apartheid,^{44/} in cooperation with the Office of Public Information of the UN Secretariat, to assist with these transmissions and to expand the production and distribution of informational material on apartheid. The resolution^{45/} was adopted unanimously by a rollcall vote of 140 to 0.

Cuba introduced, on November 21, the draft resolution the "Program of Work of the Special Committee Against Apartheid," which was ultimately sponsored by 58 states. The resolution,^{46/} which was adopted by a rollcall vote of 136 to 0, with 4 abstentions (U.S.), among other things, (1) approved the recommendations of the Special Committee on its program of work; (2) authorized the Special Committee to (a) send missions, in association with representatives of the South African liberation movements recognized by the OAU, where they are required to promote anti-apartheid activities; (b) intensify cooperation with the nonaligned countries, the OAU, and other concerned organizations; and (c) participate in conferences concerned with apartheid; (3) authorized the Special Committee to promote assistance to the oppressed peoples of South Africa; (4) encouraged the Special Committee to further international campaigns for (a) the cessation of all nuclear, economic, and military collaboration with South Africa, (b) the unconditional release of all South African political prisoners, and (c) public collections for the assistance of the South African people and the liberation movements recognized by the OAU; and (5) requested all specialized agencies and other institutions within the UN system to cooperate with the Special Committee in the fulfillment of its tasks.

^{44/} The Centre Against Apartheid is a part of the UN Secretariat.

^{45/} Resolution 32/105 H.

^{46/} Resolution 32/105 I.

The United States abstained because, although it supported the Special Committee and its work in general, it could not support operative paragraphs one and two, nor could it encourage the Special Committee to promote campaigns for the cessation of nuclear, economic, and other relations with South Africa which was implicit in those paragraphs.

On November 18, Benin introduced a draft resolution, eventually sponsored by 65 states, entitled "Assistance to the National Liberation Movement of South Africa." Inter alia, it affirmed the right of the people of South Africa to majority rule and the legitimacy of their struggle and that of their liberation movement to achieve self-determination by any means of their choice, including armed struggle; and declared that the international community should offer all assistance to the South African liberation movement and should exercise all its authority, including Chapter VII of the UN Charter, to facilitate the transfer of power in South Africa from the minority regime to the true representatives of the South African people. The resolution⁴⁷ was adopted by a rollcall vote of 112 to 9 (U.S.), with 17 abstentions. In a statement after the vote Congressman Whalen said:

" . . . As my Government has made clear on numerous occasions, we are totally opposed to the system of apartheid. We fully share the view expressed by other members of this Assembly that apartheid must go. The question really boils down to one of means: peaceful means or armed force. The dilemma which has led us to oppose this resolution is that we clearly wish to vote for the inalienable right of all South Africans to seek, obtain and enjoy full political participation in the Government of South Africa. We cannot, however, accept the view that member states should endorse, or provide assistance to, the violent seizure of power within another state. . . . We believe that it is inappropriate for the United Nations, a body dedicated to the peaceful settlement of disputes, to advocate the use of armed force to solve political problems."

Togo, on November 21, introduced a draft resolution entitled "Situation in South Africa," which was eventually sponsored by 61 states. Among other things, it (1) condemned South Africa for its racist policies, (2) proclaimed its full support for the national liberation movement as the authentic representative of the South African people, (3) condemned the establishment of bantustans, (4) condemned any collaboration with South Africa as a hostile act against the purposes and principles of the UN, and (5) invited all states and organizations to convince those who continue to collaborate with South Africa to abide by the resolutions of the United Nations. The resolution⁴⁸ was adopted by a rollcall vote of 113 to 0, with 27 abstentions (U.S.).

The United States abstained because, although the South African system of apartheid clearly prevented the Government from being

47 / Resolution 32/105 J.

48 / Resolution 32/105 K.

representative of all its people; nevertheless, the South African Government was regarded by the United States as legitimate in the legal sense. The United States could not accept any interpretation, based on this resolution, that South Africa's rights under international law had been abridged in any way. The United States did not recognize that the national liberation movement as the "authentic" representative of the South African people but rather as one authentic voice. Finally, the United States did not consider the maintenance of normal diplomatic and economic relations with South Africa to be "collaboration," as understood in operative paragraph five.

Cuba, on November 21, introduced a draft resolution entitled "World Conference for Action Against Apartheid," which was ultimately sponsored by 74 states. The resolution,^{49/inter alia}, (1) endorsed the Lagos Declaration for Action Against Apartheid, (2) requested the Secretary General to ensure maximum publicity for the Lagos Declaration and other documents of the World Conference for Action Against Apartheid, and (3) encouraged the Special Committee to take all appropriate steps toward the effective implementation of the Lagos Declaration. (See p. 30 for more on the World Conference for Action Against Apartheid.) The resolution was adopted by a rollcall vote of 140 to 0. The U.S. Representative, following the vote, again stated that the United States had some reservations to certain portions of the Lagos Declaration.

On November 21, Jamaica introduced a draft resolution entitled "International Declaration Against Apartheid in Sports," which was ultimately sponsored by 56 states. The resolution,^{50/adopted} by a rollcall vote of 125 to 0, with 14 abstentions (U.S.), *inter alia*, adopted the International Declaration Against Apartheid in Sports recommended by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention Against Apartheid in Sports, annexed to the resolution; and requested the Ad Hoc Committee to draft an international convention against apartheid in sports to be submitted to the 33rd session of the General Assembly. The Declaration, among other things, (1) would have states take all appropriate action to end sporting contacts with teams from states practicing apartheid; (2) condemns apartheid as a violation of the Olympic principle and calls on states to take appropriate action against their own teams and sportsmen who participate in competition with representatives from countries practicing apartheid; (3) requests that states deny visas to representatives of sports bodies from nations practicing apartheid and establish regulations and guidelines against the participation of their athletes in competition with athletes from apartheid nations; (4) calls on states to support projects and teams representing South Africa which are approved by the OAU and/or the South African liberation movements; and (5) requests that international, regional, and national sports bodies cease all contact with sports bodies from apartheid nations and to refrain from any penalties against these teams or individuals which refuse to participate in contests against athletes from countries practicing apartheid.

^{49/} Resolution 32/105 L.

^{50/} Resolution 32/105 M.

The United States abstained because several key elements of the resolution could not be implemented and enforced under U.S. law.

Nigeria, on November 21, introduced a draft resolution entitled "Bantustans," which was eventually sponsored by 63 states. Inter alia, it (1) denounced the South African program for the creation of bantustans or "independent" tribal homelands as designed to destroy the territorial integrity of the country and perpetuate apartheid; (2) denounced the so-called independence of Transkei and Bophutatswana and reaffirmed the inalienable rights of the people of South Africa in the territory as a whole; (3) declared the Assembly's support for Lesotho and other states subject to South African pressure for their refusal to recognize the "independence" of the bantustans; and (4) called upon member states to deny any form of recognition to the bantustans, to permit no dealings with them, and to take measures to prohibit all individuals, corporations, and other institutions under their jurisdiction from having any dealings with the bantustans. The resolution⁵¹ was adopted unanimously by a vote of 140 to 0. The U.S. Representative stated that under its Constitution the United States could not eliminate travel and personal contacts with areas of the world even when it did not officially recognize those areas.

The final resolution was adopted on December 16. Sweden introduced, on November 21, the draft resolution entitled "Investments in South Africa," which was ultimately sponsored by 29 states. It urged the Security Council, when studying the problem of apartheid, to consider again steps to achieve the cessation of new investment in South Africa. The resolution⁵² was adopted by a rollcall vote of 120 to 0, with 5 abstentions (U.S.).

World Conference for Action Against Apartheid

The World Conference for Action Against Apartheid, organized by the United Nations in cooperation with the OAU and the Government of Nigeria, met in Lagos, Nigeria, from August 22 to 26, 1977. The Conference was attended by representatives of 112 governments, with the participation of representatives of nongovernmental and intergovernmental organizations, liberation movements, and a number of individuals invited in their personal capacities. Opening addresses were delivered by Secretary General Waldheim; the Head of Government of Nigeria, General Obasanjo; the President of Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda; and the Prime Minister of Norway, Mr. Nordli.

In his remarks, the Nigerian leader called for a reanalysis of the southern African situation and the development of a course of action and alternatives which are open to Africa and the world to find solutions to the questions raised by apartheid. Building upon General Obasanjo's statements, the leader of the U.S. delegation, Ambassador Young, called for a rational approach to the problem of

^{51/} Resolution 32/105 N.

^{52/} Resolution 32/105 O.

partheid with clearly defined realistic objectives. While noting that nations may differ in their tactical approaches to the achievement of similar goals, Ambassador Young recalled U.S. demands for basic social change transmitted to South Africa during Vice President Mondale's meeting, in May, with Prime Minister Vorster and urged peaceful solutions to the problems of apartheid.

Following the address by the U.S. representative, Conference Chairman and Nigerian Commissioner for External Affairs, Joseph Garba, took the floor to compliment the United States on its recent initiatives in Africa, saying, ". . . We in Nigeria, and indeed in Africa, believe that this new administration has humanized the bureaucracy in Washington and made it more responsive to the aspirations of black people everywhere."

The "Lagos Declaration for Action Against Apartheid," adopted at the Conference's closing meeting, condemned South Africa for its institutionalization of racism through apartheid and for its continuing illegal occupation of Namibia. Essentially a moderate document, calling for the elimination of apartheid and for self-determination for the people of South Africa--consistent with U.S. policies--the Declaration also included elements that the United States could not support. U.S. Representative, Ambassador Donald B. Easum, expressed for the United States its reservations to those provisions of the Declaration which (1) called upon states to cease any assistance or cooperation given to South Africa in the nuclear field; (2) called upon the Security Council to implement an arms embargo against South Africa;^{53/}(3) recommended economic measures, including the cessation of loans to, and investments in South Africa; and (4) urged Governments to terminate all sporting contacts with South Africa. He went on to say that despite these reservations the United States remained firm in its commitment to oppose apartheid and to support the struggle for fundamental change in South Africa.

In addition to its other work, the Conference set up a Commission, made up largely of nongovernmental organizations, to consider proposals for further action against apartheid. The report of the Commission was not considered in plenary session but was annexed to the report of the Conference and was endorsed along with the report by the UN Special Committee on Apartheid which decided to recommend them for adoption by the 32nd General Assembly. The General Assembly, on December 14, adopted a resolution^{54/} which, inter alia, endorsed the Conference Declaration, but failed to note further the report of the Commission.

^{53/} The United States was not, at that time, prepared to support a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa although it had observed a voluntary arms embargo against South Africa since 1963. However, on Nov. 4, 1977, the United States joined in supporting the adoption of a Security Council resolution which did impose a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. (See p. 21 .)

^{54/} Resolution 32/105 L.

OTHER AFRICAN QUESTIONS

Botswana Complaint Against Southern Rhodesia

In a letter dated December 22, 1976, the Permanent Representative of Botswana requested a meeting of the Security Council to consider "hostile acts of armed aggression" committed by Southern Rhodesia against Botswana. In 1977, the Security Council held two series of meetings to consider Botswana's complaint, the first--three meetings from January 12 to 14--the second, two meetings on May 24 and 25.

On January 12, the Minister for External Affairs of Botswana, Mr. Mogwe, spoke in the Security Council, citing various violations by Southern Rhodesia of Botswana's sovereignty, he requested monetary assistance to offset the resources that would have to be diverted to defense needs from development oriented projects in response to the Rhodesian provocations. The amount needed was estimated at \$25 million.

The following day, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador William W. Scranton, stated the U.S. position that the real solution was clearly a change to majority rule in Rhodesia in the near future and with a minimum of bloodshed. He noted the efforts of the United Kingdom to bring about a negotiated solution and assured the Council that those efforts have the complete support of the United States.

On January 14, a resolution^{55/} sponsored by the African members of the Council and five other Non-Aligned members, was adopted by a vote of 13 to 0, with 2 abstentions (U.S.). The United States joined the United Kingdom in abstaining because it believed that the particular role of the United States and the United Kingdom in attempting to bring all sides together in Rhodesia, in search of a peaceful solution to the problem was best served by its abstention. Prior to its adoption the resolution had been modified to remove the term "aggression," because of its legal implications and, in its final form, condemned "all acts of provocation and harassment, including military threats and attacks, murder, arson, kidnapping and destruction of property, committed against Botswana by the illegal regime in Southern Rhodesia. . . ."

Paragraph 6 of the resolution accepted the invitation of the Government of Botswana to despatch a UN mission to assess the development needs of Botswana resulting from the circumstances brought about by the Rhodesian provocations and requested the Secretary General ". . . in collaboration with the appropriate organizations of the United Nations system, to organize with immediate effect financial and other forms of assistance to Botswana" In February, the Secretary General sent a Mission to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland; based on the Mission's report he appealed to all UN member states to aid Botswana because of its problems with Rhodesia and Lesotho because of its border difficulties with Transkei.

^{55/} Resolution 403 (1977).

Following a Rhodesian assault on a Botswanan Defense Force camp, the Security Council met in May and, on May 25, adopted without vote a resolution^{56/}which endorsed the report of the Mission to Botswana and called for assistance to Botswana by all states and UN specialized agencies as appropriate.

Both ECOSOC, at its 63rd session, and the General Assembly, at its 32nd session, recognized the economic hardship that confronted Botswana as a result of the need to divert funds from development projects to security measures. ECOSOC adopted a resolution,^{57/} without vote, on July 29 and the General Assembly adopted a resolution^{58/}on December 13, on the recommendation of the Second Committee, also without vote, which provided special economic assistance measures for Botswana.

Mercenary Attack on Benin

On January 16, 1977, the Beninese capital of Cotonou was attacked by a force of mercenaries of mixed nationality in what apparently was an unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Government. Benin brought the matter to the attention of the UN on January 26 through a letter to the President of the Security Council requesting an urgent Council meeting.

The Security Council met February 7 and 8 and adopted by consensus a resolution^{59/}which authorized appointment of a fact-finding mission to Benin to investigate the events of January 16 and report back to the Security Council before the end of February. The Mission, composed of three members of the Security Council--Libya, India, and Panama--was sent to Benin where it took depositions from members of foreign embassies in Cotonou, reviewed evidence presented by the Government of Benin and interviewed a captured Guinean member of the mercenary force.

The Mission's report, which was distributed March 8, concluded provisionally that Benin was subjected to armed aggression by a mercenary force recruited in Europe, trained in Morocco and launched from Gabon.

The Security Council held six meetings between April 6 and 14 amidst an exchange of criticism between Benin and the African states which it accused of complicity in the attack. Emotions were heightened by the circulation by Benin, on April 12, of its "national report on the imperialist armed aggression committed on Sunday, 16 January 1977, against the People's Republic of Benin" to which several West African countries had objections. Eventually a resolution was drafted which was acceptable to Benin and avoided antagonizing its neighbors. The draft was also responsive to Western

^{56/} Resolution 406 (1977).

^{57/} Resolution 2095 (LXIII).

^{58/} Resolution 32/97.

^{59/} Resolution 404 (1977).

concerns in that it did not insist, as Benin had preferred, that Benin was due international reparations as compensation for the losses suffered during the attack. It merely called upon member states to provide the Benin with material assistance to enable them to repair the damage and losses inflicted while noting that Benin had reserved its rights regarding eventual claims for compensation. Adopted by consensus on April 14, the resolution^{60/} also condemned the aggression against Benin, and urged member states to ensure that their territory was not used for mercenary ventures, and to take necessary measures to prevent mercenary activity in areas under their jurisdiction.

In his statement of April 14, U.S. Representative, Ambassador Albert W. Sherer, noted that the United States was able to join in the resolution because of its concern at the attack on Benin and the loss of life and property which had occurred. He also emphasized the resolution's provisions on mercenaries, stating that the U.S. Government would enforce its laws against mercenary recruitment in the United States.

The resolution provided for the appointment by the Secretary General of two experts to assist Benin in assessing the damage resulting from the raid. The team visited Benin from June 27 to July 26 to gather information for their report, which was submitted to the Beninese Government on September 12 and transmitted to the Security Council October 13. Based on this report Benin prepared a "working paper" which they submitted informally to Security Council members when the question of the mercenary attack on Benin again arose in the Council at three meetings on November 22-24.

On November 24, in the absence of any objection, the Security Council adopted a resolution^{61/} which had been introduced by Mauritius the previous day. The operative paragraphs of the resolution, inter alia, took note of the evaluation of damages contained in the report of the experts appointed by the Secretary General and of the desire of the Government of Benin to have their mercenary attackers subjected to due process. The resolution further appealed to member states to assist Benin in recovering from the assault and requested the Secretary General to aid in the implementation of the appeal and to report to the Security Council on Benin no later than September 30, 1978.

Lesotho Complaint Against South Africa

In his letter of January 5, 1977, to member states, Secretary General Waldheim transmitted a copy of the Security Council resolution^{62/} of December 22, 1976, which appealed to all states to provide immediate financial, technical and material assistance to offset the burden imposed upon Lesotho by South Africa's closure of the border between Lesotho and the bantustan of Transkei. South Africa

^{60/} Resolution 405 (1977).

^{61/} Resolution 419 (1977).

^{62/} Resolution 402 (1976).

had taken this action in retaliation for the refusal of Lesotho to recognize the independence of the South African homeland of Transkei.

In a second letter dated April 18, 1977, the Secretary General referred to the results of the mission to southern Africa pursuant to paragraph 7 of Security Council resolution 402. The Report of the Mission dealt with Lesotho's economic dependence on external sources for many vital goods and services, and the need for international assistance to Lesotho, which the Report grouped into an emergency program and an accelerated development program. The \$66 million emergency program covered difficulties arising from the closure of border posts and the cutoff of South African grain subsidies as well as the likelihood of a poor maize harvest. The \$47 million accelerated development program was an amalgam of projects, whose implementation could contribute to the rapid strengthening of the Lesothan economy, lessening its dependence on South Africa. In his letter the Secretary General noted the establishment of a special account in New York for those wishing to contribute to Lesotho's development and urged all member states to do so.

In 1977, the question of Lesotho came before the Security Council at two meetings on May 24 and 25. At the second of these meetings the Council adopted without vote a resolution,^{63/}sponsored by the Africa Group and the other Non-Aligned nations of the Council, which commended Lesotho for its refusal to recognize the bantustan of Transkei, supported the Secretary General's appeal to member states to assist Lesotho, and urged UN specialized agencies to provide appropriate aid.

In his statement before the Council, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Leonard, noted firm U.S. opposition to the South African policies of apartheid and concern for the pressures to which Lesotho was subjected. He expressed U.S. admiration for the Mission's report and noted the U.S. view that more aid to Lesotho was called for under the circumstances. As a consequence, the United States would take steps, subject to the successful completion of the Congressional process, to make additional funds available to Lesotho. At a UN pledging conference for Botswana and Lesotho June 6, the United States pledged \$5.5-\$6 million to Botswana and announced a feasibility study for the conversion to an all weather surface of the southern perimeter road in Lesotho. The road would cost some \$20 million when completed. We also announced our readiness to consider additional projects to aid refugees in Lesotho.

Assistance to Lesotho was further considered during the 63rd session of ECOSOC in Geneva. ECOSOC adopted a resolution,^{64/} which became, at the 32nd session of the General Assembly, the basis for a draft resolution, approved November 18 by the Second Committee. Adopted without vote on December 13, the resolution^{65/} (1) directed the attention of the international community to the Report of the Mission to Lesotho and the special account for donations to Lesotho;

^{63/} Resolution 407 (1977).

^{64/} Resolution 2096 (LXIII).

^{65/} Resolution 32/98.

(2) urged member states, UN specialized agencies, and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees to broaden their assistance to Lesotho; and (3) requested the Secretary General to continue to mobilize and coordinate efforts on behalf of Lesotho.

Mozambican Complaint Against Southern Rhodesia

At the beginning of June 1977, Rhodesian forces attacked camps at Mapai in Mozambique. These assaults lasted several days and were followed by attacks on other sites within Mozambique. In a telegram of June 18, Mozambique requested the convening of the Security Council to deal with the situation of increased tension in southern Africa.

Coincidentally, the OAU was holding its annual summit meeting and adopted an urgent resolution condemning both Rhodesia and South Africa and expressing unqualified support for Mozambique's case before the Security Council. The OAU resolution also mandated the Foreign Ministers of Nigeria, Algeria, Lesotho, and Gabon as well as the Foreign Ministers of the "front-line" states of Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, and Angola to assist Mozambique in the Security Council debate.

The Security Council held six meetings from June 28 to 30 to consider Mozambique's complaint. Speaking on the first day, Mozambique Deputy Prime Minister Marcelino Dos Santos made two key points: Mozambique requested arms and assistance from any source, but did not need outside personnel; Mozambique needed \$13 million in international assistance to repair the devastation of the Rhodesia raids.

The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Young, deplored Rhodesia's actions because of the tragic loss of human life and property and because the raids diverted attention from the necessity for a negotiated settlement leading to majority rule in Zimbabwe. The United States, he said, supported peaceful transition in Rhodesia, the complete adherence to Security Council sanctions against Rhodesia, and appropriate assistance to Mozambique.

On June 30 the Council unanimously adopted a resolution^{66/} which, inter alia, (1) condemned Rhodesia for its raids into Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana and condemned South Africa for its continued support of Rhodesia; (2) reaffirmed the existence of the Rhodesian regime as a threat to international peace and security; (3) reaffirmed support for the liberation struggle of the people of Zimbabwe; (4) requested member states to offer aid to Mozambique in economic and defense fields; and (5) requested the UN specialized agencies, coordinated by the Secretary General, to provide appropriate assistance to offset the sacrifices made by Mozambique in order to adhere to UN sanctions against Rhodesia.

In support of the Security Council's action--ECOSOC, on July 29, and the General Assembly, on December 13, adopted special assis-

^{66/} Resolution 411 (1977).

tance measures for Mozambique. Both the ECOSOC resolution^{67/}and the General Assembly resolution,^{68/}adopted on the recommendation of the Second Committee, were adopted without vote. Each resolution noted the severe economic losses and sacrifices of Mozambique and urged states, international organizations, and appropriate UN bodies to provide financial, material, and economic assistance to Mozambique.

The Comorian Island of Mayotte

The United States recognized the Comoros in August 1977, without prejudice to the territorial dispute between the Comoros and France over the island of Mayotte whose largely Christian people, in referenda in December 1974 and February 1976, had indicated a preference to remain a part of France as opposed to independence as part of the predominantly Moslem Comoros.

The Security Council, although it has in recent years, did not consider the problem of Mayotte during 1977.

The Council of Ministers of the OAU at its 29th session, between June 23 and July 3, 1977, decided to support the Comorian position that Mayotte cannot separate itself from the other three islands that form the Comoros Archipelago and created a Committee of Seven to look into the matter further, with the intent of again bringing the question to the attention of the General Assembly.

The General Assembly considered the item entitled "Question of the Comorian Island of Mayotte" at three meetings, in plenary, on October 31 and November 1. Sri Lanka introduced a draft resolution, on behalf of 68 sponsors, which urged the Governments of France and the Comoros, with the assistance of the Secretary General and the OAU, to reach a negotiated settlement. The resolution^{69/}was adopted on November 1 by a rollcall vote of 121 to 0, with 17 abstentions (U.S.); France not participating in the vote.

67/ Resolution 2094 (LXIII).

68/ Resolution 32/95.

69/ Resolution 32/7.

DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL

CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT

The CCD,⁷⁰ which meets annually in Geneva, Switzerland, is the principal international forum for the negotiation of arms control and disarmament agreements. Although the CCD is not an organ of the United Nations, it reports each year to the UN General Assembly and conducts much of its work in response to General Assembly resolutions. The U.S. and Soviet Representatives serve as cochairmen of the CCD.

In 1977, the CCD met from February 15 to April 29 and from July 5 to August 30. During the spring session the United States was represented by Leon Sloss, Acting Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and by Howard Meyers. During the summer session the U.S. Representative was Adrian S. Fisher. In addition to formal meetings in which members set forth their views, the CCD also conducted numerous informal meetings on the subjects of a comprehensive test ban, new types of weapons of mass destruction, chemical weapons, and the development of a comprehensive negotiating program of arms control and disarmament measures.

Speaking before the CCD on August 30, Ambassador Fisher characterized 1977 as:

"... a year devoted mainly to preparing the way for negotiations on our high priority issues--a comprehensive nuclear-test ban and a prohibition on chemical weapons. The United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union have put renewed effort into the serious work of preparing an initiative on a comprehensive nuclear-test ban. The United States sees such an initiative as contributing to the basis for the CCD's negotiation of a treaty text. . . .

"While I cannot promise you a certain date for completion of the initiatives on either a comprehensive nuclear-test ban or a chemical-weapons prohibition, I can assure you that the United States Government is dedicated to the proposition of moving ahead to the multilateral negotiating phase on both these issues as soon as there is an adequate basis for agreement which provides a reasonable opportunity for success."

⁷⁰/ The 31 members of the CCD are Argentina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burma, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Ethiopia, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Romania, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Yugoslavia, and Zaire. France has not taken its seat at the CCD and does not participate in the work of the Conference.

Comprehensive Test Ban

The high priority accorded by the United States to successful negotiation of a comprehensive test ban was noted by Paul Warnke, Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, during a statement to the CCD on July 19. Ambassador Warnke indicated that the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union had begun serious efforts to bridge the differences between their respective positions, and he assured the delegates that "we will bend every effort to prepare the way for early and fruitful negotiations in the CCD."

With a view toward contributing to the verification regime of a comprehensive test-ban treaty, the Ad Hoc Group of Scientific Experts to Consider International Cooperative Measures to Detect and Identify Seismic Events^{71/} held three sessions during 1977: February 21-25, April 25-29, and July 25-August 5. The Ad Hoc Group is charged, inter alia, with designing a global network of seismological stations and estimating its detection and identification capability. However, it will not evaluate the adequacy of such a system for verification of a comprehensive test ban. Nevertheless, Ambassador Fisher noted on August 30 that the Ad Hoc Group had made considerable progress in developing a sensible plan for an international data-exchange network and that such a plan could make an important contribution with respect to verification of a future comprehensive test ban. The Ad Hoc Group is expected to transmit its final report to the CCD in 1978.

Chemical Weapons

The spring session of the CCD opened while the United States was in the midst of a major reevaluation of possible approaches to one of its highest priority arms control objectives: the complete and effective prohibition of chemical weapons (CW). Previously, in August of 1976, the United Kingdom had submitted a draft CW convention which was to become the focal point of subsequent discussions in the CCD. On March 29, Mr. Meyers said that the U.K. draft represented a basically sound approach that attempted to achieve the broadest possible restraint in a responsible manner. In preliminary comments on it he emphasized several aspects of the issue that the United States believed should be strengthened. In the U.S. view, the proposed convention should cover incapacitating as well as lethal agents, should prohibit precursors of prohibited agents, should require the eventual dismantling of factories which

^{71/} The Ad Hoc Group had been established by the CCD in 1976. Scientific experts and representatives of the following CCD member states participated: Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Mongolia, Netherlands, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Romania, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States. In response to previous CCD invitations, scientific experts of the following states not members of the CCD also took part in the Group's discussions: Australia, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, New Zealand, New Zealand, and Norway.

produced single-purpose CW agents, and should specify in detail the arrangements for on-site verification and the composition, decision-making procedures, and method of operation of the proposed CW consultative committee. The United States also believed that the CCD should consider further measures for confidence-building purposes.

On July 19 Ambassador Warnke reaffirmed the importance of the CW convention and noted that the United States and the Soviet Union were working together to develop a joint initiative which could be presented to the CCD. Moreover, the United States participated in the informal meetings with experts which were conducted by the CCD in both the spring and summer sessions.

On August 30 Ambassador Fisher reported that while several important questions remained to be resolved, the positions of the Soviet Union and the United States coincided on a number of key issues and were not far apart on others.

New Types of Mass Destruction Weapons

The question of prohibition of new types of weapons of mass destruction was considered by the CCD at both the spring and summer sessions. Ambassador Fisher outlined the U.S. views on August 11, affirming that "our ultimate objective should be to eliminate and prevent future development of such weapons under adequately verified agreements." The United States believed, however, that a single treaty would not be effective. Instead, the issue should be kept under review in order to identify potential weapons of mass destruction as early as possible.

"... When specific potential weapons are identified we believe it would then be appropriate to develop a specific agreement dealing with the weapon in question. However, any new weapons of mass destruction will undoubtedly have different technical characteristics as compared with other weapons, and we believe it would be particularly important and necessary for any agreement to control such a new weapon of mass destruction to be tailored to the specific weapon. This is true not only because the dangers of weapons of mass destruction may vary, but also because the means of verifying compliance with an agreement to ban these weapons may be quite different, depending upon the nature of the threat posed by the weapon and its characteristics which might determine the means for its control."

He noted that the definition of weapons of mass destruction arrived at in 1948 by the UN Commission for Conventional Armaments^{72/}

^{72/} Established by the Security Council in Feb. 1947, the Commission had the same membership as the Council. In a resolution adopted Aug. 12, 1948, the Commission said that "weapons of mass destruction should be defined to include atomic explosive weapons, radioactive material weapons, lethal chemical and biological weapons, and any weapons developed in the future which have characteristics comparable in destructive effect to those of the atomic bomb or other weapons mentioned above." The Commission held its last meeting in Apr. 1950 and was dissolved in Feb. 1952.

included "radioactive material weapons," and stated that the United States regarded this definition as an adequate and reasonable basis for identifying new types of mass destruction weapons. Stressing that the U.S. position did not imply the need to wait until such a weapon had been deployed prior to taking steps to bring it under control, Ambassador Fisher cited the arms control treaties relating to outer space⁷³ and the seabed⁷⁴ as examples of preventive measures supported by the United States.

In this connection Ambassador Fisher pointed out on August 30 that the United States and the Soviet Union were currently holding consultations on the possibility of a joint initiative in the CCD on an agreement banning radiological weapons, a category of weapons included in the 1948 definition as "radioactive material weapons."

Comprehensive Negotiating Program

During 1977 the CCD considered in both formal and informal meetings the question of adopting a comprehensive negotiating program that would deal with all aspects of the problem of stopping the arms race and achieving general and complete disarmament. On April 28 Mr. Meyers summarized the U.S. position, noting that the "approach to disarmament questions must above all be flexible, enabling the Committee to take advantage of changing circumstances and opportunities for progress, rather than compelling it to adhere to rigid and static guidelines evolved under previous conditions."

On August 25 the CCD took note of the consensus reached among its members to establish at the beginning of its 1978 spring session an ad hoc working group to discuss and elaborate a draft comprehensive negotiating program of arms control and disarmament measures to be submitted to the CCD for its consideration. On August 30 Ambassador Fisher welcomed this decision, describing it as an opportunity for the CCD to up-date its agenda and consider its future program of work

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The 32nd General Assembly had 17 disarmament items on its agenda. These were considered together by the First Committee, which held a general debate from October 18 to November 7 and devoted another 2 weeks to the consideration of draft resolutions. Representatives of 111 member states took part. Both the debate and the content of many of the resolutions were influenced by the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, which was scheduled for May-June 1978.

On the recommendation of the First Committee, the Assembly

73/ 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and Under Water; entered into force Oct. 10, 1963.

74/ 1971 Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof; entered into force May 18, 1972.

adopted 24 resolutions, of which 12 dealt with nuclear issues, including nuclear testing, SALT, nuclear-weapon-free zones, non-proliferation, and nuclear non-use assurances. In addition, a closely related resolution dealing with IAEA safeguards against the proliferation of atomic weapons was adopted by the Assembly during its consideration in plenary session of the report of the IAEA. While many of the resolutions essentially reiterated views and actions of previous sessions of the Assembly, innovations included resolutions dealing with regional arms control, with the publication of a UN disarmament periodical, and with the relationship between disarmament and development.

On the 25 resolutions discussed in the pages that follow, the United States supported 20 and abstained on 5.

Special Session Devoted to Disarmament

At its 31st session in 1976 the General Assembly had decided to hold a special session devoted to disarmament in 1978 and had established a 54-state Preparatory Committee to examine all questions relevant to the special session. The Preparatory Committee's report was before the 32nd Assembly in 1977.

During the First Committee's general debate on disarmament, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Adrian S. Fisher, referred to the special session when he said:

"... Over the horizon is the special session on disarmament. We should seize upon this event as an opportunity to widen our horizons; to free ourselves from preoccupation with only the most pressing issues of the moment and to try to build for the future. We believe the success of the special session in stimulating, broadening, and accelerating disarmament negotiations will depend principally on the ideas and attitudes that countries develop for, and bring to, the session.

"In this regard I am pleased to note that some nations are, indeed, thinking along similar lines. To note this is not, of course, to say that the United States is necessarily prepared to embrace all the proposals which have been made thus far. But it does mean that we intend to examine carefully and discuss with others any serious proposals which may be put forward for consideration at the special session on disarmament. We are, in short, ready to test the boundaries of the possible."

Two draft resolutions stemming from the Preparatory Committee's report were approved by the First Committee. The first, sponsored by 37 states, was introduced by Norway on November 11. It endorsed the Preparatory Committee's recommendation that the General Assembly should initiate a study on the relationship between disarmament and development and decided that the terms of reference of the study would be determined by the Assembly itself at its special session. It further requested the Secretary General to appoint an ad hoc group of governmental experts to elaborate a possible framework and terms of reference for the study by April 1, 1978. On November 15 the First Committee approved the draft resolution by consensus, and the plenary Assembly adopted it without vote on Decem-

ber 12.⁷⁵/

The second draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by 54 states, was introduced by Sri Lanka on November 10. This draft endorsed the report and recommendations of the Preparatory Committee for the special session to be held between May 23 and June 28, 1978, and requested the Preparatory Committee to continue its work in order to prepare a draft final document or documents for consideration or adoption at the special session. The First Committee approved this draft by consensus on November 18, and the Assembly adopted it without vote on December 12.⁷⁶/

Economic and Social Consequences of the Armaments Race

In 1975 the General Assembly had adopted a resolution requesting the Secretary General, with the assistance of qualified consultant experts, to update his 1971 report entitled Economic and Social Consequences of the Arms Race and of Military Expenditures.

On November 10, 1977, Romania introduced a draft resolution, eventually sponsored by 20 states, that (1) welcomed the updated report and expressed the hope that it would help focus future disarmament negotiations on nuclear disarmament and on the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control; (2) called for its submission to the special session on disarmament; and (3) decided to keep the item, "Economic and social consequences of the armaments race and its extremely harmful effects on world peace and security," under constant review and to include it in the provisional agenda of the 35th Assembly in 1980. The First Committee approved the resolution by consensus on November 11, and the Assembly adopted it without vote on December 12.⁷⁷/

Incendiary and Other Specific Conventional Weapons

In connection with its consideration of the agenda item entitled "Incendiary and other specific conventional weapons which may be the subject of prohibitions or restrictions of use for humanitarian reasons," the First Committee had before it a report of the Secretary General on the results of the fourth, and last, session of the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts. The Diplomatic Conference had met in Geneva from March 17 to June 10, 1977; its work centered on three specific categories of conventional weapons: (1) weapons primarily relying on fragments not detectable by X-ray; (2) mines and booby traps; and (3) incendiaries, including napalm. Other issues discussed included fuel-air explosives and small-caliber arms. The Conference was not able to reach any specific agreement regarding the prohibition for humanitarian reasons of the various conventional weapons. However, the Conference adopted

⁷⁵/ Resolution 32/88 A.

⁷⁶/ Resolution 32/88 B.

⁷⁷/ Resolution 32/75.

a resolution, cosponsored by the United States, recommending that a diplomatic conference, preceded by appropriate preparatory meetings, be convened not later than 1979 to complete this work.

On November 15 Sweden introduced a draft resolution dealing with incendiary weapons which, in its final form, was sponsored by 14 states. The resolution decided to convene in 1979 a UN conference with a view, *inter alia*, "to reaching agreements on prohibitions or restrictions of the use of specific conventional weapons, including those which may be deemed to be excessively injurious or to have indiscriminate effects, taking into account humanitarian and military considerations." The resolution also called for a preparatory conference to be held in 1978.

A number of states, including both the United States and the U.S.S.R., expressed their dissatisfaction with the failure of the cosponsors to offer any reasonable assurance that decisions at these conferences would be taken only by consensus. Speaking to this point on November 25, the U.S. Representative noted that meaningful progress could only be made if the procedural arrangements ensured that the results would be acceptable to interested states. He said:

"... In particular we believe that the rule of consensus must be observed in reaching any decision on the restriction or prohibition of conventional weapons, and we are disappointed that neither the text of this resolution nor the statements of its cosponsors offer assurance that that will be the case. Accordingly, we have decided to abstain from voting on this draft resolution."

The draft resolution was approved by the First Committee on November 25 by a recorded vote of 84 to 0, with 21 abstentions (Belgium, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Mongolia, Poland, Turkey, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.), and adopted by the General Assembly on December 19 by a recorded vote of 115 to 0, with 21 abstentions^{78/} The same states abstained as in the committee vote. China did not participate in either vote.

Chemical Weapons

The CCD's consideration of chemical weapons during 1977 (see above, p. 39) was complemented by bilateral U.S.-U.S.S.R. consultations. These talks were helpful in clarifying the views of the two sides on a variety of complex issues, especially those relating to verification, and in identifying certain areas of agreement.

Ambassador Fisher addressed the question of prohibiting chemical weapons in his statement of October 18:

"These [U.S.-U.S.S.R.] negotiations are proceeding in a very serious and detailed way and we are making measurable progress toward the formulation of a joint initiative to pre-

^{78/} Resolution 32/152.

sent to the CCD. The elaboration of an international convention prohibiting chemical weapons would be an achievement of historic proportions.

"It would be a genuine disarmament measure requiring the destruction of all existing stocks and prohibiting any further production of these terrible weapons. . . ."

He concluded by expressing the U.S. hope for early concrete results which would lead to productive negotiations in the CCD.

On November 4 Canada introduced a draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by 34 states, entitled "Chemical and bacteriological (biological) weapons." The resolution (1) urged all states to reach early agreement on the effective prohibition of the development, production, and stockpiling of all chemical weapons and on their destruction; (2) requested the CCD to continue negotiations toward the elaboration of such an agreement; and (3) invited all states that have not yet done so to accede to the 1972 Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on Their Destruction and to the 1925 Geneva Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous, or Other Gases and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, and called for strict observance by all states of the principles and objectives of those instruments.

The First Committee approved the draft resolution by consensus on November 10, and the General Assembly adopted it without vote on December 12⁷⁹/

Comprehensive Test Ban

Two agenda items brought forward from previous sessions of the General Assembly were considered together: "Urgent need for cessation of nuclear and thermonuclear tests and conclusion of a treaty designed to achieve a comprehensive test ban" and "Conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests."

Ambassador Fisher noted on October 18 that:

". . . Three of the world's nuclear-weapon states--the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States--are now engaged in serious negotiations directed toward achieving a comprehensive test ban.

"The issues involved in these negotiations are complex and difficult. They have repeatedly thwarted earlier efforts to achieve a negotiated test ban. We are, nonetheless, cautiously optimistic that they can be resolved. The participants in these negotiations are proceeding with a heightened sense of urgency and purpose. We hope that the CCD will be able in the near future to begin consideration of the results of these trilateral negotiations.

⁷⁹/ Resolution 32/77.

"... As President Carter recently stated before the United Nations:⁸⁰ '... the time has come to end all explosions of nuclear devices, no matter what their claimed justification--peaceful or military. . . .'"

Draft resolutions were submitted on each of the agenda items, but following lengthy consultations both were withdrawn and a single draft covering both items was introduced by New Zealand on November 18 on behalf of 22 sponsors. In its principal paragraphs the draft resolution (1) urged the three nuclear-weapon states to expedite their negotiations with a view to bringing them to a positive conclusion as soon as possible and to use their best endeavors to transmit the results for full consideration by the CCD by the beginning of its spring session in 1978, and (2) requested the CCD to take up the agreed text with a view to submitting a draft treaty to the General Assembly at its special session devoted to disarmament.

On November 21 the First Committee approved the draft resolution by a recorded vote of 89 (U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) to 1 (China), with 1 abstention (France), and on December 12 the Assembly adopted it by a recorded vote of 126 (U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) to 2 (Albania, China), with 1 abstention (France)⁸¹/

Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zones

The Assembly adopted five resolutions with regard to the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world.

Protocols I and II of the Treaty of Tlatelolco

The Treaty of Tlatelolco⁸² and its related protocols provide for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in Latin America. Protocol I contains an undertaking by non-Latin American states which administer territories within the zone not to store or deploy nuclear weapons within those territories. Of the four countries eligible, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands have adhered to Protocol I; the United States signed on May 26, 1977, but had not yet ratified by the end of the year; and France has neither signed nor ratified. Protocol II contains an undertaking by nuclear-weapon states not to contribute to any violations of the basic treaty, and not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against Latin American countries which are parties to the treaty. The United States, the United Kingdom, France, and the People's Republic of China are parties to Protocol II, while the Soviet Union has not yet adhered to it.

On November 15 Mexico introduced on behalf of 22 Latin American and Caribbean states two draft resolutions dealing with these Protocols. The first took note of the U.S. signature of Protocol I and urged French adherence as soon as possible. The First Committee

⁸⁰/ On Oct. 4. See Appendix I, p.317 for full statement.

⁸¹/ Resolution 32/78.

⁸²/ Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, done at Tlatelolco (Mexico City) Feb. 14, 1967; entered into force Apr. 22, 1968.

approved the resolution on November 16 by a recorded vote of 100 (China, U.K., U.S.) to 0, with 16 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R.), and the Assembly adopted it on December 12 by a recorded vote of 113 (China, U.K., U.S.) to 0, with 14 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R.).^{83/} This was the first time that a resolution on Protocol I gained U.S. support.

The second draft resolution urged Soviet adherence to Protocol II. The First Committee approved the resolution on November 16 by a recorded vote of 105 (China, France, U.K., U.S.) to 0, with 12 abstentions (U.S.S.R.), and the Assembly adopted it on December 12 by a recorded vote of 118 (China, France, U.K., U.S.) to 0, with 13 abstentions (U.S.S.R.).^{84/}

African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone

Resolutions calling on all states to respect the continent of Africa as a nuclear-weapon-free zone have been adopted by the General Assembly on several occasions since 1961.

On November 9 Nigeria introduced a draft resolution on the de-nuclearization of Africa which in its final form was sponsored by 39 African states. As in the past, the resolution called on states to "consider and respect" Africa as a nuclear-weapon-free zone, and it appealed to all states to refrain from such cooperation with South Africa in the nuclear field as would enable it to acquire nuclear weapons. In addition, it urgently requested the Security Council to take "appropriate effective steps" to ensure that South Africa neither develops nor acquires nuclear weapons.

The First Committee approved the resolution on November 15 by a vote of 118 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions, and the Assembly adopted it on December 12 by a recorded vote of 131 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions.^{85/}

In an explanation of vote on November 15, Ambassador Fisher noted that the United States "has shared the concern of the international community that South Africa's advanced technology and, in particular, its unsafeguarded nuclear facilities could be employed to develop a nuclear-weapons capability" and called attention to South Africa's assurances to the United States that it does not have or intend to develop nuclear explosives for any purpose. Ambassador Fisher reaffirmed the U.S. view "that nuclear cooperation under appropriate full-scope international safeguards and controls does not contribute to the proliferation of nuclear weapons and need not enhance national capabilities to achieve a nuclear explosives status."

Middle East Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone

In 1974 the General Assembly had adopted a resolution commending

^{83/} Resolution 32/76.

^{84/} Resolution 32/79.

^{85/} Resolution 32/81.

the idea of establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East. Subsequent General Assembly consideration of this question has reflected a wide divergence of views among states of the region on acceptable procedures for the establishment of the proposed zone.

On November 15 Iran introduced a draft resolution, also sponsored by Bahrain, Egypt, Kuwait, Qatar, and Yemen (Sana), that called for the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East in terms substantially the same as in earlier resolutions. Recognizing "the need to create momentum" toward establishing such a zone in the Middle East, the draft (1) urged "all parties directly concerned" to adhere to the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and (2) recommended that, pending the establishment of the zone, these states (a) refrain from "producing, acquiring, or in any other way possessing nuclear weapons and nuclear explosive devices"; (b) refrain from any actions that would "facilitate the acquisition, testing, or use of such weapons"; and (c) "agree to place all their nuclear activities under the IAEA safeguards."

The First Committee approved the resolution on November 16 by a recorded vote of 117 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (Israel), and the Assembly adopted it on December 12 by a recorded vote of 131 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (Israel)^{86/}

In an explanation of vote to the First Committee on November 16, Ambassador Fisher reaffirmed U.S. support of the "concept of nuclear-weapon-free zones in areas of the world where they are appropriate, particularly the Middle East, under conditions that would assure the effectiveness of such a zone." He further noted that "we continue to believe, however, that the actual provisions set forth in the resolution governing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in that area must be negotiated and agreed among the potential participants in the zone before states can be expected to undertake commitments regarding it."

South Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone

The question of establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia, first considered by the Assembly in 1974, has occasioned contentious debate between India and Pakistan. While Pakistan has advocated a zone generally limited to the subcontinent (i.e., excluding China), India has stated that it will only support creation of a zone which covers a broader Asian area, including China, and which results from consultations among the potential participants in such a zone.

On November 2 Pakistan introduced a draft resolution, along the lines of the one it had sponsored in 1976, that (1) reaffirmed the Assembly's endorsement, in principle, of the concept of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia; (2) urged the states of South Asia to make "all possible efforts" to establish such a zone; and (3) called on nuclear-weapon states to "respond positively" to the proposal.

The First Committee approved the resolution on November 18 by

^{86/} Resolution 32/82.

a vote of 71 (U.S.) to 0, with 28 abstentions, and the Assembly adopted it on December 12 by a recorded vote of 105 (China, Pakistan, U.K., U.S.) to 0, with 28 abstentions (France, India, U.S.S.R).^{87/} This was the first time the United States voted for a South Asian nuclear-weapon-free zone. Explaining the U.S. vote in the First Committee, Ambassador Fisher said:

". . . This vote reflects United States support for the concept of establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones in various parts of the world which President Carter emphasized at the Organizing Conference of the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation in Washington last month.^{88/} We believe that effective nuclear-weapon-free zones can enhance the security of the parties and can reinforce non-proliferation on a regional basis.

"The United States vote in favor of this draft resolution also reflects continuing United States support for the objectives of establishing a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia under conditions that would ensure its effectiveness. The criteria by which the United States Government judges the effectiveness of any nuclear-weapon-free zone have been elaborated by my delegation many times in the past. We also recognize the responsibility of all nuclear-weapon states in connection with the establishment of such zones.

"The United States does not regard this draft resolution as being directed against any state in the region and would not have been able to support it had we thought otherwise. We believe that the actual provisions governing the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia, as in any other area, must be negotiated and agreed on among the appropriate parties before states can be expected to undertake commitments regarding the zone."

Indian Ocean Peace Zone

In 1971 the General Assembly adopted a resolution declaring the Indian Ocean a "zone of peace." The following year the Assembly established an Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean,^{89/} and since then the Assembly has annually adopted resolutions aimed at implementing the "zone of peace." The 32nd General Assembly had before it the report of the Ad Hoc Committee, which, inter alia, included a draft resolution unanimously recommended for adoption by the General Assembly.

On November 17 Sri Lanka, on behalf of the members of the Ad Hoc Committee, introduced the draft resolution which, in a pream-

^{87/} Resolution 32/83.

^{88/} See p. 228.

^{89/} Members during 1977 were Australia, Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Kenya, Malagasy Republic, Malaysia, Mauritius, Pakistan, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Yemen (Sana), and Zambia.

bular paragraph, noted that the United States and the U.S.S.R. had initiated talks regarding their military presence in the Indian Ocean⁹⁰ and that the two countries had established contacts with the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee. In operative paragraphs the draft (1) invited the great powers and other maritime users of the Indian Ocean that have not yet cooperated effectively with the Ad Hoc Committee to enter into consultations with the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean; (2) decided that, as the next step toward the convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean, a meeting of the littoral and hinterland states of the Indian Ocean should be convened in New York at a suitable date, which other states not falling within this category, but which have participated or expressed their willingness to participate in the work of the Ad Hoc Committee, could attend; and (3) decided to enlarge the Ad Hoc Committee by the addition of Ethiopia, Greece, Mozambique, Oman, and Yemen (Aden).

In explaining the U.S. position before the vote in the First Committee on November 18, Ambassador Fisher said that the United States "shares the goal of the supporters of the draft resolution that the Indian Ocean not become an arena for increased military competition" and affirmed that "the United States is prepared to reach agreement with the Soviet Union on mutual military restraint in the Indian Ocean." He noted that the United States had kept the Ad Hoc Committee informed of the progress of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. talks. However, Ambassador Fisher stated that:

"In our view the original 1971 resolution on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace can be interpreted as giving littoral states of the region the right to establish a legal regime for the seas in that region. The United States cannot accept such an understanding. We also do not agree that the convening of a multilateral conference would be the best way of achieving the goal of promoting peace and stability for all concerned."

The First Committee approved the draft resolution by a vote of 95 (U.S.S.R.) to 0, with 13 abstentions (U.S.). Despite the fact that they are negotiating on Indian Ocean arms limitations bilaterally, the United States and the U.S.S.R. for the first time voted differently on an Indian Ocean resolution. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly on December 12 by a recorded vote of 123 (China, U.S.S.R.) to 0, with 13 abstentions (Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, U.K., U.S.)⁹¹/

Disarmament Decade

A resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1969 had declared the 1970s a "Disarmament Decade." In subsequent years resolutions urged progress toward the goals of the Decade. The resolution adopted by the 31st Assembly in 1976 had, inter alia, urged the CCD to adopt a comprehensive program dealing with all

⁹⁰/ These talks were begun on the initiative of President Carter.

⁹¹/ Resolution 32/86.

aspects of the problem of disarmament. (See above, p. 41 for the CCD's consideration of this request during 1977.)

On November 10 Nigeria, on behalf of 11 states, introduced a draft resolution entitled "Effective measures to implement the purposes and objectives of the Disarmament Decade." After the adoption of several amendments proposed by Niger, the draft in its principal operative paragraphs (1) took note of the decision of the CCD to set up an ad hoc working group to elaborate a comprehensive program for disarmament; (2) requested the CCD to submit a progress report to the General Assembly at its special session devoted to disarmament; (3) called on states and the Secretary General to intensify their efforts in support of the link between disarmament and development; and (4) urged that "the unparalleled technical possibilities now available to mankind should be exploited for the purposes of combating poverty, ignorance, disease, and hunger throughout the world."

The First Committee approved the draft resolution on November 17 by a vote of 121 (U.S.) to 0, with no abstentions, and the General Assembly adopted it on December 12 by a recorded vote of 130 (U.S.) to 0, with 1 abstention (Sierra Leone)^{92/} Sierra Leone later said that it had intended to vote in favor. China did not participate in the vote.

Mass Destruction Weapons

In considering the agenda item on "Prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons," the Assembly had before it the report of the CCD (see p. 40).

Two draft resolutions dealing with this subject were introduced in the First Committee on November 9. Both were subsequently approved on November 15.

The first draft resolution, introduced by the German Democratic Republic and sponsored by six states, requested the CCD to continue negotiations aimed at working out the text of an agreement on the "prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons." It was approved by a recorded vote of 87 (U.S.S.R.) to 0, with 28 abstentions (France, U.K., U.S.)

The second draft resolution was introduced by the United Kingdom and sponsored by 11 states. It (1) urged states to refrain from developing new weapons of mass destruction based on new scientific principles; (2) reaffirmed the definition of weapons of mass destruction contained in the August 12, 1948, resolution of the Commission for Conventional Armaments (see p.40 , footnote 72); and (3) requested the CCD to keep the question under review and to consider formulating agreements on the prohibition of specific new weapons which may be identified. This resolution was approved by a recorded vote of 80 (France, U.K., U.S.) to 0, with 35 abstentions (U.S.S.R.).

^{92/} Resolution 32/80.

In explaining the U.S. votes in the First Committee Ambassador Fisher reaffirmed the views he had expressed earlier in the CCD. The United States abstained on the six-power draft because it believed that trying to deal with all weapons of mass destruction in one treaty would not be either desirable or effective. It supported the 11-power draft because it believed the case-by-case approach to weapons control would be both practical and effective.

Both draft resolutions were adopted by the General Assembly on December 12. The 6-power draft was adopted by a recorded vote of 110 (U.S.S.R.) to 1 (Albania), with 25 abstentions (France, U.K., U.S.).⁹³ The 11-power draft was adopted by a recorded vote of 102 (France, U.K., U.S.) to 1 (Albania), with 28 abstentions (U.S.S.R.).⁹⁴ China did not participate in either committee or plenary votes.

Reduction of Military Budgets

Reports prepared for the United Nations by groups of experts in 1974 and 1976 successfully developed a standardized reporting instrument for the uniform, detailed, and comparable national reporting of military expenditures. If implemented, this instrument could lay a basis for potential expenditure limitation agreements. In 1976 the 31st Assembly solicited the views of member states with regard to the reporting instrument; the responses were generally favorable. In 1977 an intergovernmental group of budgetary experts analyzed the comments provided by states and recommended that operational development of the reporting instrument be undertaken through a field test in which a small but representative group of states would take part.

On November 17 Mexico introduced a draft resolution, also sponsored by Sweden, that in preambular paragraphs recognized that the exercise had reached a stage "where practical steps for testing and refining the proposed reporting instrument could now be taken" and noted that at the Assembly's special session on disarmament "several matters related to the reduction of military expenditures will be considered." In its operative portion, however, the draft called for no action beyond the preparation by the Secretary General of a background report for the special session.

On November 18 the United States introduced three amendments to the resolution that were also sponsored by the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. The first amendment added a preambular paragraph recognizing the value of a standardized reporting instrument. The second, and most important, requested the Secretary General "to ascertain those states which would be prepared to participate in a pilot test of the reporting instrument and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its special session devoted to disarmament." The third amendment requested the Secretary General to include in the background report he was preparing information on the progress made in carrying out the second amendment.

⁹³/ Resolution 32/84 A.

⁹⁴/ Resolution 32/84 B.

In introducing the amendments, Ambassador Fisher said:

"... The United States and the other sponsors submit that our deliberation on this subject at the special session will be helped, not hindered, if we know who is prepared to participate in a test program. . . . This [second] amendment merely asks the Secretary General to get the information which would make our deliberations at the special session more, rather than less, meaningful.

"... We reassert the conviction--which I believe has been the conviction of this Committee and this Assembly--that the ready availability of meaningful and reliable data on military expenditures in a form suited to international comparison can play an important role in promoting international security and confidence. We have the belief--and I believe it is shared by others--that standardized reporting by all nations can lay the foundation--and I would submit, a necessary foundation--for future agreements limiting military expenditures."

On November 18 the First Committee approved the first amendment by a recorded vote of 103 (France, Mexico, Sweden, U.K., U.S.) to 1 (China), with 17 abstentions (U.S.S.R.). The second and third amendments, voted on together, were approved by a vote of 40 (France, U.K., U.S.) to 4 (China, Mexico, Peru, Sweden), with 76 abstentions (U.S.S.R.). The draft resolution, as amended, was then approved by the Committee by a recorded vote of 109 (France, Mexico, Sweden, U.K., U.S.) to 2 (Albania, China), with 11 abstentions (U.S.S.R.).

The Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution, as recommended by the First Committee, on December 12 by a recorded vote of 120 (France, U.K., U.S.) to 2 (Albania, China), with 13 abstentions (U.S.S.R.).^{95/}

General and Complete Disarmament

Under the agenda item "General and complete disarmament" the First Committee recommended and the General Assembly adopted seven resolutions on a variety of disarmament questions. An eighth resolution, adopted during the Assembly's consideration in plenary session of the annual report of the IAEA, is also discussed in this section.

Review of the Seabeds Arms Control Treaty

The 1971 Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Seabed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil Thereof provides for a conference to review the operation of the treaty 5 years after its effective date. Such a review conference was held at Geneva from June 20 to July 1, 1977.

On November 3 Poland introduced a draft resolution sponsored by 29 states, including the United States, United Kingdom, and U.S.S.R. (the three depositaries of the Treaty), which welcomed with satis-

^{95/} Resolution 32/85.

faction "the positive assessment" by the Review Conference of the effectiveness of the Treaty; invited ratification or accession to the Treaty by those states not yet having done so; and requested the CCD "to proceed promptly with the consideration of further measures in the field of disarmament for the prevention of an arms race in that environment" and to report to the 33rd General Assembly.

The resolution was approved by the First Committee on November 10 by consensus and adopted by the Assembly without vote on December 12⁹⁶

Strengthening the Security of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States

On November 9 Pakistan introduced a draft resolution, subsequently cosponsored by Morocco, on the question of strengthening the security of non-nuclear-weapon states. The draft (1) reaffirmed the provisions of resolution 31/189 C on the same subject, adopted by the Assembly in 1976⁹⁷; (2) urged the nuclear-weapon powers to consider extending the undertaking proposed by resolution 31/189 C; and (3) recommended that all possible efforts be made at the special session devoted to disarmament to evolve "binding and credible security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon states."

Speaking before the vote in the First Committee, Charles C. Flowerree explained the U.S. position:

"The United States Government is receptive to the need for effective measures to enhance the security of the non-nuclear-weapon states. Some type of assurances regarding the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon states could very well complement global non-proliferation efforts. We join in the hope that at the special session on disarmament it will be possible to find an approach to this problem that is broadly acceptable to the international community.

"In our view, a satisfactory approach to the question of nuclear security assurances would be one which increases the confidence of all countries that their security is adequately protected and which promotes the stability of the international system as a whole. Such an agreement must not undermine existing security arrangements. The particular formulation reaffirmed in the draft resolution now before us does not fully meet our concerns regarding the maintenance of existing security arrangements. In addition, there are imprecisions in the formulation that would make it difficult to follow in practice. We thus find it necessary to abstain in the vote on this draft resolution."

96/ Resolution 32/87 A.

97/Resolution 31/189 C requested the nuclear-weapon states "to consider undertaking, without prejudice to their obligations arising from treaties establishing nuclear-weapon-free zones, not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon states not parties to the nuclear security arrangements of some nuclear-weapon powers."

On November 17 the resolution was approved by a recorded vote of 86 (China) to 0, with 26 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.), and on December 12 it was adopted by the General Assembly by a recorded vote of 95 (China) to 0, with 38 abstentions (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.)^{98/}

Relation of Disarmament to International Security

On November 14 Cyprus introduced a draft resolution entitled "Studies on the relationship of international peace and security to disarmament," which was ultimately sponsored by 11 states. Noting that the Assembly had considered a study of experts on the inter-relationship between disarmament and development (see above, p. 42) and expressing the view that a parallel study was needed on the interrelationship between disarmament and international security, the resolution requested the Secretary General to initiate such a study and to submit a progress report thereon to the Assembly at its special session devoted to disarmament.

The First Committee approved the draft resolution by consensus on November 17, and the Assembly adopted it without vote on December 12.^{99/}

Regional Disarmament

Belgium introduced on November 15 a draft resolution dealing with regional disarmament. Expressing concern at the fact that the armaments race "is accelerating and that the world figure for expenditures on armaments continues to increase," the draft invited all states to inform the Secretary General not later than April 15, 1978, of their "views and suggestions concerning the regional aspects of disarmament, including measures designed to increase confidence and stability as well as means of promoting disarmament on a regional basis." The communications would be transmitted to the special session devoted to disarmament, and the Assembly would consider at its 33rd session the desirability of undertaking a "comprehensive study of all the regional aspects of disarmament," bearing in mind the decisions and recommendations that may be adopted at the special session.

The First Committee approved the draft resolution on November 18 by a recorded vote of 71 (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) to 0 with 41 abstentions, and the Assembly adopted it on December 12 by a recorded vote of 91 (France, U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) to 0, with 40 abstentions.^{100/} China did not participate in either vote.

Periodical on Disarmament

Sweden introduced on November 15 a draft resolution, sponsored by 10 states, proposing the publication of a periodical on disarmament matters. The draft emphasized the need for a periodical that

^{98/} Resolution 32/87 B.

^{99/} Resolution 32/87 C.

^{100/} Resolution 32/87 D.

would present in "highly readable form current facts and developments in the field of disarmament," such as annotated bibliographies and summaries of new proposals, of in-depth studies undertaken by the United Nations or the CCD, and of important books and articles. It requested the Secretary General to initiate the publication of such a periodical in all the working languages of the General Assembly.

The First Committee approved the draft resolution by consensus on November 18, and the General Assembly adopted it without vote on December 12.^{101/}

Nuclear Non-proliferation and the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

Two draft resolutions taking different approaches to the closely related issues of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the peaceful uses of atomic energy were introduced, one in the First Committee under the agenda item on "General and complete disarmament," and the other in plenary under the agenda item on "Report of the IAEA."

On November 16 Finland introduced in the First Committee a lengthy draft resolution which was sponsored by 14 states. The draft strongly supported non-proliferation restraints through the 1968 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and the system of IAEA safeguards. Most states party to the NPT found the resolution generally acceptable, but some countries felt that it downplayed the rights of states to peaceful nuclear technology. After certain revisions to meet in part the concerns of those countries, the resolution was approved on November 21 by a recorded vote of 89 (U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) to 1 (China), with 16 abstentions (France), and the General Assembly in plenary session adopted it on December 12 by a recorded vote of 111 (U.S.S.R., U.K., U.S.) to 2 (Albania, China), with 16 abstentions (France).^{102/}

On November 4 Nigeria introduced in the plenary Assembly a draft resolution, sponsored in its final form by 11 states, that, in contrast to the Finnish draft resolution, emphasized the importance of the peaceful use of nuclear energy for economic and social development and the right of all states to acquire technology, equipment, and materials for the peaceful use of nuclear energy. Subsequently the sponsors agreed to certain revisions, including a reference to the application of IAEA safeguards, reflecting the non-proliferation concerns of many countries, though the resolution retained its emphasis on the right to develop and acquire peaceful nuclear technology.

In an explanation of vote the U.S. Representative, Mr. Kennedy, said:

"The United States believes that any resolution which promotes the peaceful use of nuclear energy must also acknowledge the dangers of nuclear proliferation which accompany the spread of nuclear technology. While we should have preferred the draft resolution now before the Assembly to be more balanced in this

^{101/} Resolution 32/87 E.

^{102/} Resolution 32/87 F.

regard, we are nonetheless supporting it as a recognition of the serious concerns of the developing world and of its willingness to work toward a constructive outcome."

The resolution was adopted by the Assembly by consensus on December 8.^{103/}

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)

On November 16 Mexico introduced a resolution concerning SALT that was ultimately sponsored by 10 states. The resolution noted with satisfaction President Carter's October 4 statement to the General Assembly that the United States was willing to go as far as possible, consistent with its security interests, in limiting and reducing its nuclear weapons.^{104/} The draft noted "with identical satisfaction" the November 2 speech of Leonid Brezhnev, President of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., to the Joint Session of the Supreme Soviet and Central Committee of the Communist Party, in which he stated that the U.S.S.R. was proposing that agreement be reached on a simultaneous halt in the production of nuclear weapons by all states. The draft then stressed "the necessity and urgency" for the U.S.S.R. and the United States to "strive to implement as soon as possible the foregoing declarations of their respective heads of state" and reiterated the invitation to both Governments "to keep the General Assembly informed in good time of the results of their negotiations."

During the First Committee's consideration of this draft resolution Ambassador Fisher explained the U.S. support for it:

"As stated by President Carter, the Government of the United States hopes that current and future rounds of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks will permit the United States and the Soviet Union to reach agreement on substantial reductions in the arsenals of both states. We understand the strong interest with which other members of the international community follow the progress of these negotiations. Accordingly we intend to inform the special session on disarmament of the results achieved in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks."

The First Committee approved the draft resolution on November 25 by a recorded vote of 91 (U.S.S.R., U.S.) to 2 (Albania, China), with no abstentions. The General Assembly adopted it on December 12 by a recorded vote of 134 (U.S.S.R., U.S.) to 2 (Albania, China), with no abstentions.^{105/}

World Disarmament Conference

The question of convening a world disarmament conference has been on the agenda of the General Assembly since 1971, when the Soviet Union introduced the subject. In 1973 the Assembly estab-

^{103/} Resolution 32/50.

^{104/} See Appendix I, p. 317, for complete text of statement.

^{105/} Resolution 32/87 G.

lished an Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference, composed of 40 non-nuclear-weapon states, to examine the views of states on the convening of such a conference.

The United States abstained on the initial resolution but joined in consensus approval of the 1973 and subsequent implementing resolutions because these did not imply any commitment to convene or to begin preparations for a conference.

The U.S. position continues to be that such a world conference, while it might be useful at an appropriate stage in the future, would at the present time be more harmful than helpful to real progress on disarmament.

On November 11 a draft resolution ultimately sponsored by eight states was submitted. It requested the Ad Hoc Committee on the World Disarmament Conference to submit to the General Assembly at its special session devoted to disarmament a report on the state of its work and deliberations, and to maintain close contact with the representatives of the states possessing nuclear weapons in order to remain currently informed of their respective attitudes.

The First Committee approved the draft resolution by consensus on November 18, and the Assembly adopted it without vote on December 12.106/

106/ Resolution 32/89.

OUTER SPACE

The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, its Scientific and Technical Subcommittee, and its Legal Subcommittee all met during 1977. The United States participated actively in their work as well as in the 32nd General Assembly's consideration of the Committee's report.^{107/}

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL SUBCOMMITTEE

The Scientific and Technical Subcommittee held its 14th session in New York from February 14 to 25. A significant part of the session was devoted to the organizational, technical, and financial aspects of remote sensing of the earth by satellites. The Subcommittee also reviewed the UN program on space applications and considered the options relating to a possible UN conference on outer space.

An important issue before the Subcommittee was the extent to which data sensed by satellites could be disseminated to other countries. The Subcommittee recommended that an attempt be made on scientific bases to provide a technical definition of spatial resolution and to determine what aspects of data might correspond to particular applications. This would make it easier for the Legal Subcommittee and the Committee to decide what, if any, should be the limitations on dissemination of primary data without the permission of the sensed country. The Subcommittee suggested that the Secretariat conduct such a study so that it could be discussed at the next meeting of the Subcommittee. The Subcommittee agreed that there was no scientific or technical basis for a sensed state not having timely and nondiscriminatory access to data of its territory. The Subcommittee also noted the importance of providing adequate training facilities, including on-site training, in all aspects of remote sensing, particularly to the developing countries so that they might derive maximum benefit from this new technology.

The Subcommittee recommended that the question of convening a UN conference on outer space matters be included on the agenda of the full Committee at its next session. It further recommended that the Committee consider, inter alia, the establishment of a small task force to consider all the factors involved and to report to the 15th session of the Subcommittee on the specific objectives, organizational aspects, and financial implications of any proposed UN conference on outer space matters.

^{107/} The 37 members of the Outer Space Committee in 1977 were Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chad, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Lebanon, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Venezuela. The two Subcommittees have the same membership as the full Committee.

In reviewing its future role and work, the Subcommittee discussed other areas of possible research and applications of space technology. Among those discussed were the applications of space technology to the question of solar energy, the use of lunar materials, and the question of contacts with extraterrestrial intelligence, as well as the monitoring of pollution of the environment. It agreed, however, that the question of remote sensing should continue to have the highest priority, followed by the UN program on space applications and questions relating to the convening of a UN conference on outer space matters.

LEGAL SUBCOMMITTEE

The Legal Subcommittee held its 16th session in New York from March 14 to April 8. It considered (1) the draft treaty relating to the moon; (2) the elaboration of principles governing the use by states of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting; (3) legal implications of remote sensing of the earth from space; and (4) matters relating to the definition of and/or delimitation of outer space and outer space activities. The Subcommittee maintained its practice of setting up working groups for consideration of the priority items of its agenda.

No consensus was reached by Working Group I on the question of the legal status of the natural resources of the moon; consequently, no text relating to this issue was agreed upon. Working Group II continued its consideration of the three undecided principles relating to direct television broadcasting: (1) consent and participation, (2) program content, and (3) unlawful/inadmissible broadcasts. While some progress was made toward formulating a draft preamble for a body of principles as well as a draft principle on consultation and agreement relating to direct television broadcasting, the Working Group was unable to reach agreement on proposed texts. Working Group III elaborated four additional draft principles concerned with the remote sensing of the earth and its environment. Like the five draft principles previously formulated, however, these principles are heavily bracketed with alternate wording and will require further work before agreed-upon texts are developed.

The Subcommittee, noting that October 10, 1977, would be the 10th anniversary of the entry into force of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, approved a draft resolution for consideration by the General Assembly commemorating the Treaty and encouraging all states to become parties to it.

The Subcommittee recommended to the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space that future meetings of the Legal Subcommittee be held in rotation between Geneva and New York.

During the Subcommittee's brief consideration of the question of the definition of outer space, the U.S. position on geostationary orbits was clarified by David P. Stewart. Noting the claim by some states that those portions of the geostationary orbit lying over land should be considered as within the national jurisdiction of the adjacent state, he said:

"My delegation agrees that the geostationary orbit is a natural phenomenon of special interest and that it assumes particular importance with respect to communications and other applications. We cannot agree, however, that there is any proper basis, either scientific or legal, for a unilateral claim of exclusive national sovereignty over the geostationary orbit. In the view of my delegation, geostationary as well as other orbits of artificial Earth satellites lie in our space and are, therefore, in the words of the 1967 Outer Space Treaty, 'not subject to national appropriation by claim of sovereignty, by means of use or occupation, or by any other means.'

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". . . Mr. Chairman, regardless of the absence of any specific, agreed-upon definition or delimitation or outer space, we do not believe it can be reasonably argued that the geostationary orbit does not lie in outer space. Its use is, as a legal matter, clearly permitted under, and must be guided by, the provisions of the 1967 Outer Space Treaty.

". . . In our view, taking into account the codification of and practice under international law, including this Treaty, the principles set forth therein apply to the geostationary orbit and preclude any claims of national sovereignty over that orbital location."

The Subcommittee was unable to reach agreement on this issue.

OUTER SPACE COMMITTEE

The Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space held its 20th session in Vienna from June 20 to July 1. It reviewed the reports of its two subcommittees and approved their recommended programs for future work.

Speaking on June 21, the U.S. Representative, John A. Baker, commented on and commended the work of the Committee and its Subcommittees and reviewed U.S. cooperative programs and activities in the exploration and use of space. Citing the Shuttle Orbiter being developed by NASA, he pointed out that its advent and its use by the European Space Agency's Spacelab would inaugurate one of the most significant and challenging international cooperative projects since the beginning of the space age. He noted that the first Spacelab mission would include experiments selected from 16 countries and that more than 220 scientists from various countries were involved in the mission. He also pointed out that the number of countries and international organizations sharing in NASA's Landsat research program was now over 50. In the U.S. view, he said, the Landsat series of remote sensing satellites constituted one of the most important space research projects as yet undertaken. In commenting on the Legal Subcommittee's work on direct broadcast satellites, he noted that the United States has "a strong bias against the assertion of national limitations on individual freedom of choice."

The Committee formed a working party of the whole which devoted considerable effort to resolving the differences of opinion that had

arisen in the Legal Subcommittee regarding draft principles governing the use of direct broadcast satellites. The working party was able to achieve significant progress in removing some of the bracketed language associated with the principles and in improving the drafting of some paragraphs of the draft preamble.

The Committee welcomed the resolution proposed by the Legal Subcommittee concerning the 10th anniversary of the entering into force of the 1967 Outer Space Treaty and decided to forward it to the General Assembly for its consideration at its 32nd session.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The First Committee of the 32nd General Assembly considered together at eight meetings between November 21 and December 1 two agenda items relating to outer space: "International cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space," and "Preparation of an international convention on principles governing the use by states of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting." Representatives of 53 states took part in the debate, and three draft resolutions were approved.

Speaking on November 22, the U.S. Representative, Ms. Benton, reviewed the cooperative approach taken by the United States in the exploration of outer space and commended and endorsed the work of the Outer Space Committee and its Subcommittees during 1977. In this connection she pointed out that the elaboration of principles guiding the direct broadcast of television by satellite had evoked considerable interest. She explained that:

"... It is well known that many states wish to include in the guidelines a principle that would require prior consent before broadcasting begins. Others have joined with the United States in opposing any such requirement as incompatible with the fundamental concept of free and unfettered exchange of information and ideas between countries, peoples, and individuals. Still others have proposed formulations of a possible principle that would seek to bridge the gap between these positions. The gap is wide and it will require the earnest efforts of all members of the Outer Space Committee to overcome it. The process of exploring and understanding the complex matters involved in this subject should be continued in the Legal Subcommittee."

On November 21 the Chairman of the Outer Space Committee introduced the draft resolution recommended by that Committee commemorating the 10th anniversary of the entry into force of the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, and inviting states which have not yet become parties to it to ratify or accede to it as soon as possible. The First Committee approved the draft resolution by consensus on December 1, and the General Assembly adopted it by consensus on December 20. 108/

On November 30 Austria introduced an omnibus draft resolution on outer space activities that was ultimately sponsored by 35 states, including the United States and most other members of the Outer Space Committee. Inter alia, the resolution recommended that the Legal Subcommittee should (1) continue as matters of high priority (a) its efforts to complete the elaboration of draft principles governing the use by states of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting; (b) its detailed consideration of the legal implications of remote sensing of the earth from space, with the aim of formulating draft principles; and (c) its consideration of the draft treaty relating to the moon; and (2) continue to discuss questions relating to the definition and/or delimitation of outer space and outer space activities, bearing in mind questions relating to the geostationary orbit. The resolution further recommended that the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee pursue its work on matters before it and that the Secretary General should, for the Subcommittee's consideration, undertake the studies and prepare the documentation on questions relating to remote sensing of the earth from space, and (3) prepare a factual study on the physical nature and technical attributes of the geostationary orbit. In other paragraphs the resolution endorsed other recommendations of the Outer Space Committee and requested the Committee to continue its work and to consider, as appropriate, new projects in outer space activities. The First Committee approved the draft resolution by consensus on December 1, and the General Assembly adopted it by consensus on December 20.109/

On November 23 Colombia introduced a draft resolution, sponsored in its final form by 32 states, that (1) expanded the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space from 37 to 47 members; (2) requested the President of the General Assembly to appoint the new members not later than January 31, 1978, in accordance with the principle of equitable geographical distribution; and (3) requested the Secretary General to ascertain the views of member states on ways and means of allowing the participation of additional members in the Committee.

The United States did not support this resolution, because it believes that the efficient work of the Committee may be impeded by the enlargement. Speaking on this point for the United States on November 28, Herbert Reis noted that the work of the Outer Space Committee was highly technical, that it required a certain effort on the scientific side, and that, at least to a limited extent, any enlargement had the potential for becoming an impediment to the work of the Committee. In addition, the United States believed that any proposed enlargement should be discussed with the Outer Space Committee before being implemented.

The draft resolution was approved by the First Committee on December 1 by a recorded vote of 95 to 0, with 13 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the General Assembly on December 20 by a recorded vote of 110 to 0, with 10 abstentions (U.S.).110/

109/ Resolution 32/196 A.

110/ Resolution 32/196 B.

LAW OF THE SEA

The sixth session of the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea met in New York from May 23 to July 15, 1977. Ambassador Elliot L. Richardson, Special Representative of the President for the Law of the Sea Conference, headed the U.S. delegation. The Conference worked on the basis of the Revised Single Negotiating Text (RSNT) that had been prepared in 1976. In the course of the sixth session a new version, the Informal Composite Negotiating Text (ICNT), was developed.

In addition to the plenary meetings, presided over by the Conference President, H. S. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, there were three main committees of the whole and an informal working group on dispute settlement. Committee I dealt with the principles and organization for the exploitation of the deep seabed; Committee II dealt with such issues as security and navigation, the economic zone, landlocked and geographically disadvantaged states, living resources, and archipelagoes; and Committee III dealt with marine pollution, scientific research, and the transfer of technology.

Pursuant to a decision taken at the end of the fifth session, the first 3 weeks were devoted to a discussion of deep seabed mining questions led by Minister Jens Evensen of Norway, a Vice Chairman of the Conference, who had also led intersessional consultations on the subject. Evensen produced successive revised texts for consideration, and his final text on such matters as the system of exploitation and the system of governance of the proposed International Seabed Authority were widely regarded among both developing and industrialized states (including the United States) as a sound basis for further negotiation. Nevertheless, the Committee I Chairman unilaterally issued a substantially different text on deep seabed mining which was included in the ICNT.

Ambassador Richardson noted on July 20 that the ICNT demonstrated real progress on vital issues relating to international security and freedom of navigation. However, it also substantially set back prospects for agreement on an international regime for the conduct of deep seabed mining. Both the substance of the ICNT text on this issue and the lack of fair and open processes in its final preparation led Ambassador Richardson to announce he would recommend that the United States undertake "a most serious and searching review of both substance and procedures of the Conference."

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE I

There was an apparent growing consensus that the most effective and reasonable way to develop seabed resources would be a parallel system of exploitation: partly by states and private entities, and partly by the International Seabed Authority itself, which would include a viable operating arm known as the Enterprise. The United States, therefore, hoped for substantial progress toward agreement on a realistic framework for the seabed regime and sought to encourage

a constructive negotiating process. The United States tried to deal concretely with developing-country concerns for the viability of the Enterprise and for sharing in the benefits from seabed exploitation. Elaborating on the U.S. proposal introduced at the fifth session in 1976, Ambassador Richardson outlined an Enterprise financing scheme which stressed loan guarantees by member states to fund the Enterprise's first operation. He also tabled a proposal on financial arrangements that would allow a mining operator to select either royalties or profit-sharing as a basis for payments to the Authority and formally proposed specific methods and rates for determining those revenue-sharing payments. The loan guarantees proposal for the Enterprise received a generally positive reaction and was later incorporated into Evensen's text.

Evensen's first revision of the intersessional text evoked coordinated and sharply critical reactions from the industrial countries. Ambassador Richardson warned against the tendency to create disincentives for investment in the seabed by imposing excessive front-end fees, restrictive production controls, and mandatory technology transfer. The United States and other developed countries also criticized this revision for ignoring their suggestions regarding financial arrangements between contractors and the Authority and financing the Enterprise.

Although Evensen's "final" revision of June 11 was still unsatisfactory in a number of respects and substantially inferior, in the U.S. view, to the RSNT of 1976, it constituted a basis for further negotiation. The United States made no substantive initiatives after June 11, but it engaged the developing countries in detailed technical discussions on critical issues such as resource policy and financial arrangements. This contributed to a greater understanding of the nature of seabed mining and of the basic requirements of industrialized and developing countries.

The text that the Committee I Chairman submitted for the ICNT, however, was unacceptable to the United States for a number of reasons. Inter alia, the system of access to seabed resources seemed to give the Authority potentially limitless powers that could result in insufficient assurance of opportunities for mining by states and their nationals. It left open the possibility of financial burdens on mining operations that would deter or prevent seabed development. It artificially limited price and production of seabed minerals in a fashion more stringent than the United States considered necessary to protect land-based producers of the same minerals. Further, it gave power to the Authority that could lead to granting access to the seabeds on political rather than economic grounds.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE II

The work of Committee II was carried on in negotiating groups and small consultation groups which had been established by the Chairman during the previous session. The small groups, each consisting of approximately 30 states, dealt with the outer limit of the continental margin, revenue sharing from exploitation of the continental margin beyond 200 miles, delimitation of the territorial sea, the economic zone, and the continental shelf between opposite

and adjacent states. The issue of access by landlocked and geographically disadvantaged states (LL/GDS) to the living resources of economic zones of other states within their region was the focus of a 21-state contact group representing both LL/GDS states and coastal states.

The most important outstanding issue for the United States was the status of the 200-mile offshore exclusive economic zone. The U.S. objective has been to retain the traditional high seas status of the zone except for rights over resources and other specified rights assigned to coastal states by the provisions of the resulting Convention. U.S. attempts to incorporate this position in the Committee's text met with strong opposition from the territorialists, who sought instead to strengthen provisions that would create a cone of national jurisdiction in which other states would enjoy only limited rights of navigation, overflight, and communication. In the seventh week it became apparent that no further progress was possible in the small consulting group and discussion of the issue ended. However, a group of affected states, including the United States, considered the status question informally, outside the Committee framework. After discussion and negotiation this group produced a new text that clarified and preserved the relative rights and duties of coastal and other states, including the landlocked, in the economic zone. This was incorporated in the ICNT.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEE III

Discussion in Committee III concentrated on elimination of vessel-source pollution and the extent of coastal state enforcement rights in ports, the territorial sea, and the economic zone. Several maritime states proposed amendments that would limit enforcement actions to violations of discharge regulations. A large majority of coastal states, led by Canada, strongly opposed these amendments. On the other hand, there was substantial opposition to proposed amendments by coastal states that would strengthen their enforcement authority by increasing the number of cases in which vessel inspection could be undertaken. The United States urged retention of the balance that had existed in the RSNT text.

Discussion of port-state enforcement centered on the issue of whether port-state jurisdiction should extend to discharge violations occurring beyond 200 miles. Amendments to require flag-state consent for port-state prosecutions of such violations were supported by several maritime states; the United States, however, opposed such amendments.

The United States proposed new language that would require states to enact national laws no less stringent than international rules to prevent, reduce, and control pollution resulting from the mining activities undertaken by their flag vessels, installations, structures, and other devices. A major purpose of the proposal was to require national regulation of processing anywhere in the oceans, thus supplementing the regulations of the International Seabed Authority at the mine site. The U.S. language received substantial support and was included in the ICNT.

With respect to marine scientific research, the United States

continued to oppose the language of the RSNT which had permitted the coastal state to deny permission for scientific research in its economic zone that interfered with coastal state economic activities. The United States also found unacceptable other language proposed by the Committee III Chairman which would increase coastal state discretion to deny consent for such research on other grounds. The United States continued to stress the importance of such research and declared that this was one of the most important issues remaining to be resolved.

A text worked out by the United States and a cross-section of other delegations was discussed at the last Committee III meeting and substantially incorporated into the ICNT as a good basis for negotiation. This text provided that the consent of the coastal state would be required for marine scientific research undertaken in its exclusive economic zone or on its continental shelf, but that the coastal state should in normal circumstances grant consent for such research, although it might withhold it under specified conditions.

DISPUTE SETTLEMENT

With respect to dispute settlement, the Conference discussed articles relating to choice of procedures, provisional measures, optional exceptions to jurisdiction, and limitations on jurisdiction. The most important accomplishment was the acceptance by the group of developing countries and the overwhelming majority of other delegations of a single Law of the Sea Tribunal with a Seabed Disputes Chamber. The latter's members would be selected from the members of the full Tribunal. The Chamber would have exclusive and compulsory jurisdiction over all disputes arising under the articles concerning deep seabed mining. The United States strongly supported these provisions.

THE OUTLOOK

The Conference decided that its seventh session would be held in Geneva for 7 or 8 weeks beginning March 28, 1978. On December 20 the General Assembly adopted by consensus a resolution approving this decision^{111/}. Since the close of the sixth session, there have been signs that many Conference participants recognize that substantial changes are needed in the seabed mining provisions of the ICNT if a treaty is to be concluded. The United States remains convinced that there are benefits to be derived from a comprehensive treaty. However, as indicated above, difficulties remain with respect to several issues, one of the most fundamental being provision of assured access to resources of the deep seabed on reasonable terms and conditions.

^{111/} Resolution 32/194.

GENERAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS

SAFETY OF INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION

During 1977 the number of hijackings of civil aircraft rose sharply, reaching 32 as compared to 18 in 1976. Particularly serious was the October hijacking by four Middle East terrorists of a Luft-hansa airliner on its way from Majorca. Although the hijacking was eventually terminated in Mogadiscio, Somalia, by a group of specially trained German troops, the rescue did not take place until after the pilot had been murdered. In the wake of this tragedy the International Federation of Air Line Pilots Associations (IFALPA) threatened to strike unless the UN General Assembly took up the issue.

On October 22, 42 states, including the United States, requested the inclusion in the agenda of the 32nd General Assembly, as an important and urgent matter, of an item entitled "Safety of international civil aviation." On October 25 the Assembly, on the recommendation of its General Committee and without vote, approved the addition of the item, allocated it to the Special Political Committee for consideration, and urged that it be accorded due priority.

The Special Political Committee considered the item at five meetings between October 26 and November 2. The debate opened with statements by Assad Kotaite, President of the Council of ICAO, who reported on ICAO actions to combat the problem (see p.213) and Derry F. Pearce, President of IFALPA. Capt. Pearce emphasized the international nature of the problem, pointing out that neither those who carried out the attacks nor the victims were of only one nationality. He also noted that the Tokyo, The Hague, and Montreal Conventions¹¹² negotiated by ICAO to protect international civil aviation were less effective than they should be because they had been ratified by only 59%, 53%, and 50%, respectively, of the UN member states. He urged the General Assembly to intensify efforts to expedite universal ratification and implementation of the obligations contained in the three conventions together with universal application of the preventative and other technical measures prescribed by ICAO.

On October 25, 50 states, including the United States, submitted a draft resolution condemning hijacking, urging states to adhere to the existing conventions, and calling on ICAO to undertake further efforts to protect air travel. This draft served as the basis for negotiations. The final version, incorporating a number of amendments put forward by African and Arab states which broadened the resolution's application beyond individual terrorist acts to include state acts, was approved by consensus on November 1 and adopted

¹¹² Convention on Offenses and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft, signed at Tokyo, Sept. 14, 1963; Convention for the Suppression of unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, signed at The Hague, Dec. 16, 1970; and Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Civil Aviation, signed at Montreal, Sept. 23, 1971.

by the General Assembly, also by consensus, on November 3.^{113/}

The resolution (1) condemned all acts of hijacking or other interference with civil air travel, whether committed by individuals or by states; (2) called on states to improve security arrangements at airports or by airlines, exchange relevant information, and ensure that passengers, crew, and aircraft are not used for extortion, provided that such actions should be subject to respect for the UN Charter and relevant declarations, conventions, and resolutions and without prejudice to the sovereignty or territorial integrity of any state; (3) appealed for universal ratification of the Tokyo, The Hague, and Montreal Conventions; (4) called on ICAO to develop additional measures to strengthen air security; and (5) appealed to all Governments to make serious studies of the abnormal situation related to hijacking.

On November 3, after the resolution had been adopted, the U.S. Representative, Congressman Wolff said:

"My Government is pleased with the resolution which we have adopted. To be sure, it contains some phraseology which we believe unnecessary and irrelevant. Nevertheless, on balance, this resolution represents a major step forward in the collective fight against hijacking, because it embodies a unanimous and categoric determination by the international community to take further steps to prevent the use of terror, for whatever purpose, against those involved in international civil aviation. My Government concludes that the resolution represents an undertaking that no state will cooperate with hijackers."

In subsequent months, the United States and other key countries in the civil aviation area have sought to build on the favorable General Assembly action by encouraging all states to adhere to the three conventions.

MEMBERSHIP

During 1977 the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam were admitted to the United Nations, bringing total membership by the end of the year to 149.

Djibouti

Djibouti, the former French Territory of the Afars and Issas (French Somaliland), became independent on June 27, 1977, and on June 30 the President of Djibouti submitted his country's application for UN membership to the Secretary General.

The Security Council, in accordance with rule 59 of its provisional rules of procedure, on July 7 referred the application to its Committee on the Admission of New Members (a committee of the whole). On the same day the Committee unanimously recommended Djibouti's admission, and the Security Council then adopted by a

vote of 15 to 0 a resolution sponsored by all 15 members recommending that the General Assembly admit Djibouti.¹¹⁴ / Ambassador Donald F. McHenry said that the United States was pleased to support Djibouti's membership application and believed "that a tranquil and independent Djibouti will be an asset to the international community and most especially to its immediate neighbors."

Vietnam

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam had applied for UN membership on August 10, 1976, but the Security Council had failed to recommend it for membership because of a U.S. veto. On November 26, 1976, the 31st General Assembly had adopted a resolution recommending that the Security Council reconsider Vietnam's application favorably. On July 11, 1977, the Secretary General circulated a letter from the Permanent Observer of Vietnam requesting the Security Council to reconsider its application during that month, in accordance with the Assembly's resolution.

On July 18 the Council referred the application to its Committee on the Admission of New Members, which met the same day and recommended that Vietnam be admitted to membership. The Council considered the Committee's report on July 19 and 20.

On July 19 Ambassador McHenry said that the United States looked forward to working with Vietnam, as it did with all other UN members, to bring about a new era of peace, cooperation, and friendship, not only in bilateral relations but in "our work together in the United Nations."

On July 20 the Council adopted without a vote a resolution recommending that the General Assembly admit Vietnam to membership.¹¹⁵/

General Assembly Action

On September 20, 1977, the opening day of its 32nd session, the General Assembly adopted by acclamation resolutions admitting Djibouti¹¹⁶/and Vietnam¹¹⁷/to UN membership. Speaking after the vote, Ambassador Young welcomed both new members. He welcomed Djibouti to full participation in the world community of nations and noted that it was another example of a successful peaceful transition from colonial status to independence. He also said that in its relations with Vietnam the United States looked to the future and was hopeful that constructive relations would be established within the United Nations as Vietnam joined the common effort to achieve the goals and aspirations of the UN Charter.

¹¹⁴/ Resolution 412 (1977).

¹¹⁵/ Resolution 413 (1977).

¹¹⁶/ Resolution 32/1.

¹¹⁷/ Resolution 32/2.

PEACEKEEPING GUIDELINES

Since its establishment by the General Assembly in 1965, the 33-member Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations¹¹⁸ has been engaged in a comprehensive review of all aspects of peacekeeping operations, its main objective being to draft guidelines for future operations. In 1976 the 31st General Assembly had adopted a resolution that requested the Peacekeeping Committee and its 13-member Working Group¹¹⁹ to intensify negotiations on guidelines and urged its members, "including the permanent members of the Security Council represented therein," to demonstrate political will and a spirit of conciliation to achieve those guidelines.

Peacekeeping Committee

The Special Committee met for the first time in 1977 on February 14. It authorized the Working Group to hold two series of meetings with a view to completing the guidelines so that the Committee could submit them to the Assembly at its 32nd session. It asked the Working Group to submit a report after these meetings for the next meeting of the Committee.

The Working Group held three meetings from April 18 to 21 devoted to the consideration of specific measures relating to the practical implementation of peacekeeping operations. Several delegations which had submitted observations and comments on the practical aspects of peacekeeping operations in 1976 prepared a compendium of the common elements which emerged from their original submissions. The Working Group did not reach any conclusions on these proposals. The second series of 12 meetings, held May 2 to June 13, was devoted to efforts to complete the guidelines. These efforts were not successful; thus, when the Special Committee met on June 17 to review the Working Group's interim report, it asked the Working Group to hold a further series of meetings. The Working Group met nine times between September 12 and October 7, and again on November 28, to attempt to reach agreement on the remaining areas of difference. Although it was not possible to complete an agreed set of all the guidelines, the Working Group produced a draft text of articles 5 to 13 containing a broad range of disagreement in most of the draft articles.

On December 1 the Special Committee considered the report of

¹¹⁸ The members in 1977 were Afghanistan, Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Hungary, India, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mauritania, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Spain, Thailand, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia. Brazil announced in June that it would not participate in any further meetings of the Committee and its Working Group. Czechoslovakia announced in September that it would relinquish its seat on the Committee.

¹¹⁹ Members were the 6 officers of the Committee (Chairman--Nigeria; Vice Chairmen--Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Japan; Rapporteur--Egypt), plus Argentina, France, India, Pakistan, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States.

the Working Group and accepted its views, which were incorporated in the Committee's report to the General Assembly.

General Assembly

The Special Political Committee of the 32nd General Assembly considered the report of the Peacekeeping Committee at five meetings between December 7 and 12; 29 states took part in the debate.

On December 9 the U.S. Representative, Congressman Whalen, noted the progress that had been made on the guidelines and the need to build on the UN experience in peacekeeping. He said:

"... The differences among us have been substantially narrowed and it now seems to us that an agreement is attainable given some additional time for negotiation of the remaining points of disagreement.

.

"The agreement toward which we are working would have both political and practical significance. Looking ahead, we can all identify areas of tension and potential conflict in various parts of the globe where an international peacekeeping force would at some time in the future prove useful. We need to prepare ourselves politically so that the Security Council, in some future crisis situation, need not waste time debating fundamental principles relating to possible responses to a situation threatening international peace and security. Equally important, we need to move beyond theoretical guidelines to take practical measures so that the Council will be able to tap trained and identified peacekeeping resources when the need arises. . . ."

On December 12 the Special Political Committee approved by consensus a draft resolution that requested the Peacekeeping Committee to intensify negotiations for an early completion of agreed guidelines and devote attention to specific questions related to the practical implementation of peacekeeping operations. The resolution was sponsored by 17 states, including the United States and 14 other members of the Peacekeeping Committee. The General Assembly adopted the resolution by consensus on December 15¹²⁰/ On December 15 and 21, respectively, the Assembly took note of the appointment by its President of the German Democratic Republic and Guatemala as members of the Peacekeeping Committee.

120 / Resolution 32/106.

STRENGTHENING THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Special Committee

The Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization²¹ held its second session from February 14 to March 11, 1977. The Committee established an open-ended Working Group which met in closed meetings and concluded a "first reading" of the Secretariat's analytical paper on governments' views and suggestions for strengthening the United Nations. The "first reading" had begun at the Committee's first session, in 1976. The Special Committee's report to the 32nd General Assembly contained the report of the Working Group and the summary records of the Committee meetings, but it contained no recommendations or conclusions.

General Assembly

The Special Committee's report was allocated to the Sixth (Legal) Committee, which considered it at 13 meetings between October 17 and 26; 76 states took part in the debate. The major areas of concern expressed by most delegations were whether the Special Committee should be reconvened, whether it should operate by consensus, and what should be its objectives. With few exceptions most speakers supported continuing the Special Committee. A large number of speakers believed the Special Committee should proceed cautiously and should work for general agreement whenever possible. Others urged that the Special Committee concentrate first on those proposals not requiring Charter amendment.

On October 18 the Philippines introduced a draft resolution, sponsored by 63 states, which inter alia decided that the Special Committee should continue its work and requested it "to be mindful of the importance of reaching general agreement whenever it has significance for the outcome of its work." Cyprus introduced an amendment that would have had the Special Committee concentrate first on those proposals which would strengthen the UN role without requiring Charter amendment, but subsequently withdrew it, stating that the cosponsors of the resolution had given assurances that the intent of the amendment was implicit in the draft resolution.

On October 28 the Sixth Committee without a vote approved the draft resolution and decided that the Special Committee should next meet at UN Headquarters from February 27 to March 24, 1978.

On December 8 the General Assembly in plenary session without a

^{121/} The 47 members of the Committee are Algeria, Argentina, Barbados, Belgium, Brazil, China, Colombia, Congo, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Liberia, Mexico, Nepal, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Spain, Tunisia, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, and Zambia. The Committee was established by the 30th General Assembly in 1975.

vote adopted the resolution^{122/} and noted the Committee's decision as to the dates the Special Committee should next meet.

U.S. Position

Speaking on October 25, the U.S. Representative in the Sixth Committee, Robert B. Rosenstock, said it was incumbent upon the membership to strive to improve UN functioning and to develop areas of agreement. If the item were to have a successful outcome, he warned, consensus was required. Cautioning against approaches that would maximize areas of disagreement, he noted that the strength of the Charter was in its flexibility which permitted evolutionary change. He then suggested some procedural and substantive areas that should be examined, including potential methods of dispute settlement and increased use of the International Court of Justice.

With respect to the Court, the U.S. Representative said:

"... Greater and more imaginative use of the advisory jurisdiction of the Court may be a means of accomplishing much that has previously been considered only in terms of amendments to the Charter or the Statute. Not only may new areas be considered in this context but consideration could be given by the General Assembly pursuant to Article 96 paragraph 2^{123/} of the Charter to expanding the number of bodies empowered to request an advisory opinion. Indeed, limited possibilities even exist within the existing framework for obtaining the advance agreement of interested parties to treat an advisory opinion as binding upon it. My Government for one has agreed with the United Nations to do just that."

The U.S. Representative concluded by stating that there were many other areas that needed to be examined, and said that the United States was prepared to look at them "with an open mind and constructive spirit." He urged others to do the same and, in particular, to concentrate on those approaches to the strengthening of the United Nations which could be accomplished within the framework of the existing Charter.

STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

In 1969 the Soviet Union proposed an agenda item for the General Assembly on "Strengthening international security." The Assembly adopted a declaration on this topic in 1970 that touched on the full range of UN activity, including peaceful settlement of disputes,

^{122/} Resolution 32/45.

^{123/} Article 96 (1) provides that the General Assembly or the Security Council may request the Court to give an advisory opinion on any legal question. Article 96 (2) provides that other UN organs and specialized agencies, which may at any time be so authorized by the General Assembly, may also request advisory opinions of the Court on legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

strengthening peacekeeping procedures, disarmament, colonialism, racial discrimination, self-determination, and closing the economic gap between developed and developing countries. Resolutions calling for the implementation of the declaration have been an annual feature of General Assembly sessions since 1971. Although the United States voted in favor of the initial declaration, it abstained or voted against subsequent resolutions under this item on the grounds that they contributed little to easing international tensions or strengthening security and merely restated the purposes and principles of the UN Charter in the form of General Assembly resolutions. Moreover, some resolutions contained elements unacceptable to the United States.

As in previous years, the item on strengthening international security was referred to the First Committee of the 32nd General Assembly where it was considered, as the final item of business, at 11 meetings between November 29 and December 9. Two draft resolutions were approved.

The first, introduced by Sri Lanka on December 7 and sponsored by 24 states, was entitled "Noninterference in the internal affairs of states." It (1) called once again on states to prevent any hostile act or activity from taking place within their territory and directed against the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence of another state; (2) considered that a declaration on noninterference in the internal affairs of states would be an important contribution to the further elaboration of the principles for strengthening friendly relations among states; and (3) requested the Secretary General to invite all member states to express their views on the question of noninterference in the internal affairs of states.

Speaking before the vote on December 8, the U.S. Representative, Ms. Benton, said:

"The United States strongly supports the principles of the United Nations Charter regarding noninterference in the internal affairs of states. We believe that these principles can best be fulfilled by universal adherence to the principles of the Charter and the Declaration on Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter, adopted by the Assembly in 1970.

"We do not believe that this restatement of these principles, as is apparently contemplated by the present draft resolution, would contribute significantly to the strengthening of international security. Therefore, my delegation will abstain in the vote on the draft resolution."

The First Committee approved the resolution by a recorded vote of 88 to 0, with 13 abstentions (U.S.), and the Assembly adopted it on December 19 by a recorded vote of 124 to 0, with 14 abstentions (U.S.).^{124/}

The second draft resolution was introduced by Cyprus on Decem-

^{124/} Resolution 32/153.

ber 8 and sponsored by 12 states. In its operative paragraphs it (1) called on states to adhere to "the purposes and principles of the United Nations and all the provisions of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security"; (2) recommended that the Security Council consider appropriate steps toward carrying out its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security; (3) reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle of colonial peoples for self-determination and urged states to increase their support to them and their national liberation movements; (4) called for extending "the process of relaxation of tensions" to all regions of the world; (5) reaffirmed that any measure directed against any state while exercising its sovereign right freely to dispose of its natural resources constituted "a flagrant violation of the right of self-determination of peoples and the principle of noninterference, as set forth in the Charter, which, if pursued, would constitute a threat to international peace and security"; (6) urged effective measures to end the arms race and to promote disarmament; (7) hoped for further positive results at the Belgrade meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, bearing in mind the close interrelationship of the security of Europe to the security of all other regions of the world, and supported the conversion of the Mediterranean into "a zone of peace and cooperation in the interests of peace and security"; and (8) asked the Secretary General to report again to the 33rd Assembly on the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security.

In explaining to the First Committee on December 9 why the United States would vote against the draft resolution, John L. Hirsch said:

"The United States believes that the UN Charter provides the best guidelines under which member states can take practical and concrete measures to strengthen international peace and security. The present draft resolution, in so far as it simply restates or misleadingly paraphrases the principles and purposes of the Charter, contributes little to the strengthening of international security. The current draft resolution contains elements with which we do not agree.

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"Operative paragraph 5 is unacceptable in that it clearly implies that any attempt to influence the action of a state in exercising its 'sovereign right'--in the phrase of the draft resolution--to dispose of its natural resources violates the Charter even where the exercise of that 'right' violates international law.

"Operative paragraph 7 raises a problem with reference to the Mediterranean zone of peace in that it would interfere with collective security arrangements and would suggest that littoral states would have the right to establish a special regime to govern that part of the high seas."

Among other paragraphs to which the United States objected were

the first, which did not even mention the UN Charter, and the third, which urged support to national liberation movements.

The First Committee approved the draft resolution on December 9 by a recorded vote of 94 to 1 (U.S.), with 19 abstentions, and the Assembly adopted it on December 19 by a recorded vote of 118 to 2 (Israel, U.S.), with 19 abstentions.¹²⁵

DEEPENING AND CONSOLIDATION OF INTERNATIONAL DETENTE

On September 27 the Soviet Foreign Minister proposed an agenda item for the General Assembly entitled "Deepening and consolidation of international detente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war." On September 30 the General Assembly decided without objection on the recommendation of its General Committee to include the item in its agenda and to allocate it to the First Committee.

The First Committee held an initial debate on the item on October 17 and 18 and completed its consideration later at nine meetings between November 27 and December 7.

On October 4 the U.S.S.R. submitted a draft declaration on the deepening and consolidation of international detente and a draft resolution on the prevention of the danger of nuclear war. The draft declaration included language noting "with satisfaction that in recent years the trend towards international detente has become more widespread" and considering desirable "a proclamation by the United Nations of its allegiance to detente." It also call for: the strengthening of international security; disarmament; noninterference in the internal affairs of states; the peaceful settlement of disputes; the development of detente unimpeded by "bloc policies"; the measuring of states' "actions in relation to other states and in all parts of the globe against the requirements of detente"; the "liberation of all colonial countries and peoples"; and the "elimination of racist regimes and of vestiges of national oppression and inequality in international relations."

The draft resolution, in a preambular paragraph, noted with satisfaction "the important steps taken in recent years to remove the nuclear threat" and expressed confidence that "the deepening and consolidation of international detente will help to diminish this threat." In its operative paragraphs it, *inter alia*, called for: restraint in the mutual relations of nuclear-weapon states; a non-use of force treaty; negotiations on "withdrawal of ships carrying nuclear weapons from certain areas of the world's oceans"; the earliest possible conclusion of the SALT talks and "the renunciation, on a reciprocal basis, of the development of new and even more destructive systems of such weapons"; and the avoidance by all states of "actions which would impede international talks designed to work out agreements directed towards the limitation of the nuclear-arms race and the removal of the danger of nuclear war."

On December 6, after consultations with the Soviet and other delegations, including the U.S., Iran introduced a conference room

¹²⁵/ Resolution 32/154.

paper, subsequently circulated as a draft resolution entitled "Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Detente." Among its more important provisions, the resolution reaffirmed in its preambular portion states' full commitment to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter and noted with satisfaction an increased desire for the relaxation of tension. The operative paragraphs, *inter alia*, called for: disarmament; "peaceful and speedy settlement of outstanding international problems"; strengthening the role of the United Nations as a primary instrument in the maintenance of international peace and security; avoidance of the threat or use of force; "the free exercise of the right of the peoples under colonial and alien domination to self-determination" and the promotion of majority rule, especially in areas where racial oppression exists; "just and balanced economic relations among states. . . in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly adopted by consensus at its sixth and seventh special sessions"; promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and freer movement and contacts among peoples.

Speaking on December 6 the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Young, affirmed that reducing international tension and preventing nuclear war was of deep and urgent concern to all. He continued:

"But before deciding here that detente is a final model on which our relations should be based, let us ask whether we are setting our sights high enough. The principles of the Charter of this organization demand more of us than avoidance of conflict, more than the reduction of tension between adversaries. This is an imperative of the nuclear age, and my government is committed to the constructive pursuit of detente in that sense. But we should frankly acknowledge that differing systems cannot assure the welfare of the international community just by limiting their own conflicts. We must also unite to meet the obligations created by our common fate and growing interdependence. And here we encounter more demanding criteria to measure our actions against."

He went on to elaborate an agenda of cooperation in four broad areas: political settlement of regional disputes; arms control and disarmament; North-South economic relations; and human rights.

On December 7 the Soviet Representative said that because the Iranian draft reflected the main provisions of the original Soviet proposal he would support it, and he would not press the Soviet drafts to a vote. He also reaffirmed the Soviet position that the process of detente did not mean giving up the right of states to self-defense or giving up the right of national liberation movements to fight for self-determination.

On December 8 the Committee approved the Iranian draft by consensus. After the resolution was approved the U.S. Representative, Ms. Benton, said that the United States had reservations about the declaration and the definition of the concept it endorsed.

". . . If detente has any meaning at all, it must apply to all regions of the world and all situations. It cannot be a double standard with built-in exceptions which permit any country an escape clause whenever it wishes.

"Regrettably, the representative of the Soviet Union raised this issue when he spoke yesterday setting forth the Soviet position that detente does not apply to situations involving liberation movements.

"This statement deeply disturbs my government, not because we do not support efforts being made to achieve majority rule in South Africa and elsewhere, but because this formula has been used in the past to justify the interference of outside powers in the internal affairs of African states already free from colonial domination.

"If this declaration contained language which made it susceptible to the interpretation placed on it by the Soviet Union, my delegation would have voted against it. We are able to support this text only because we do not believe it contains provisions which would make it selective in its operation. And on this, we rely on the Charter and the universally accepted declarations of this organization, most notably the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States."

Ms. Benton also noted that the resolutions of the sixth special session had been "adopted without objection but with far-reaching reservations, reservations which, for its part, the United States maintains."

The General Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution, also by consensus, on December 19^{126/} Albania and China disassociated themselves from the consensus both in the Committee and in the plenary Assembly.

RESEARCH ON UNIDENTIFIED FLYING OBJECTS

In a letter of July 14, 1977, the Prime Minister of Grenada, Sir Eric M. Gairy, requested the inclusion in the General Assembly's agenda of an item entitled "Establishment of an agency or a department of the United Nations for undertaking, coordinating, and disseminating the results of research into unidentified flying objects and related phenomena." On September 23 the General Assembly, on the recommendation of its General Committee, decided to include the item in the agenda and to allocate it to the Special Political Committee.

The Special Political Committee considered it at three meetings between November 28 and December 6. The speakers on the substance of the issue were Prime Minister Gairy and the Grenadian Minister of Education, Dr. Wellington R. L. Friday, who reviewed past interest and research in the possibilities of contacts with extraterrestrial beings. Emphasizing the right of all states to such knowledge, they introduced a draft resolution calling for the United Nations to establish a body for such research.

After lengthy consultations, the Chairman of the Special Com-

^{126/}Resolution 32/155.

mittee announced on December 6 that agreement had been reached on a draft recommendation to the General Assembly. Grenada announced the same day that it would not press its draft resolution to the vote. The recommendation was then approved by consensus and subsequently adopted by the General Assembly, also by consensus, on December 13. In it, the Assembly took note of the statements made by the Grenadian Prime Minister and Minister of Education, requested the Secretary General to transmit those statements and the text of the Grenadian draft resolution to member states so that they might communicate their views to the Secretary General, and requested the Secretary General to bring the replies to the attention of all member states and interested specialized agencies.¹²⁷

ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS

Philippine Offer to Host the General Assembly

On September 30, during the general debate, Mrs. Imelda Romualdez Marcos, Special Envoy of the President of the Philippines, extended the offer of her government to act as host to the 33rd session of the General Assembly. On October 21 the Philippines, subsequently joined by Fiji, Indonesia, Malaysia, Samoa, Singapore, and Thailand, formally requested the inclusion in the agenda of a new item entitled "Place of meeting of the 33rd session of the General Assembly." The request was accompanied by a draft resolution proposing Manila as the site of the session. This was later amended to cover only the first part of the session, i.e., through the general debate.

On December 5 the General Committee took up the request and recommended that it be considered by the Assembly directly in plenary meetings. This recommendation was accepted by the Assembly on December 6. After extensive consultations, the President of the General Assembly announced on December 9 that the sponsors of the draft resolution would not press it to the vote. The President thanked the Government of the Philippines for its generous offer, but said that "because of numerous practical considerations which would be involved, a number of members did not consider it feasible to accept this invitation at the present time."

A UN Secretariat survey mission had visited Manila briefly in November and reported that there would be no insurmountable problems in holding the 33rd General Assembly there. Under the General Assembly's Rule of Procedure, such a change of venue is permissible. Since the inauguration of UN Headquarters at New York in 1952, however, all sessions of the General Assembly have been held at New York and it was the general belief of the membership, as suggested by the Assembly President, that because of "practical considerations" this practice should be continued. The United States made it clear, in consultations and in public, that this was its position.

¹²⁷/Decision 32/424.

Question of the Composition of Relevant UN Organs

On September 28, 1977, 29 Asian states requested inclusion in the agenda of the 32nd General Assembly of an additional item entitled "Question of the composition of the relevant organs of the United Nations." The explanatory memorandum accompanying the request stated:

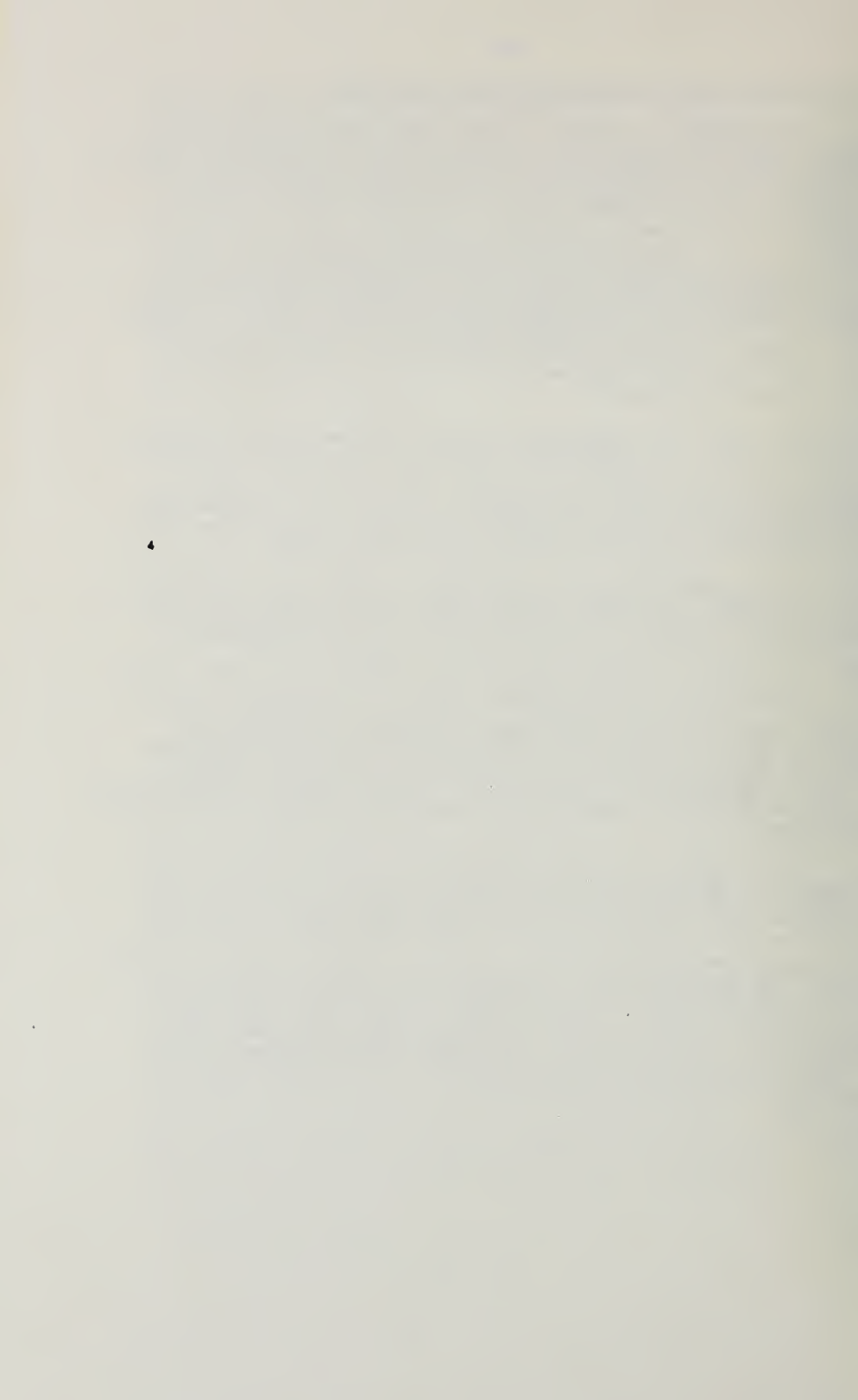
"... In view of the fact that a large increase has taken place in the membership of the United Nations, the representation of regional groups no longer accurately reflects the principle of equitable geographical distribution. It is found that in the various United Nations bodies the present level of Asian representation is not in line with its present numerical strength."

The memorandum also stated that the time had come for the Asian and African groups to be represented separately. Heretofore, some UN bodies which have specified geographic membership have considered the Asian and African states together as one group. It concluded by proposing to revise the composition of the relevant organs of the United Nations, but did not mention any specific organ.

On September 30, the General Assembly approved the recommendation of its General Committee that the item be added to the agenda and allocated to the Special Political Committee for consideration.

The Special Political Committee considered the question briefly at three meetings between December 5 and 13. On December 6 Papua New Guinea introduced a draft resolution, sponsored by 22 Asian states, that would have amended the Assembly's rules of procedure to increase the number of Vice Presidents by two thus enlarging the General Committee from 25 to 27. It would also have redistributed the General Assembly Committee chairmanships among the various regional groups

On December 13, after consultations with the chairmen of the regional groups, the Chairman of the Special Political Committee proposed that consideration of the draft resolution be postponed until the 33rd session and that a contact group consisting of two or three representatives of each regional group meet intersessionally under the chairmanship of a representative of the Asian group to study the question. The deliberations of the contact group would then serve as the basis for the Assembly's consideration of the question at its 33rd session. The Committee approved this recommendation by consensus, and on December 15 the General Assembly adopted it without a vote.



PART II.

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND HUMAN RIGHTS AFFAIRS

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

PROGRESS ON THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE

There was a pause in the North/South dialogue in early 1977 with the advent of the Carter Administration. The Paris Conference on International Economic Cooperation (CIEC), while outside the UN per se, had been the principal focus of detailed discussion of virtually all outstanding issues between the developed and developing countries. This discussion among 27 representative countries, 19 developing and 8 developed (but without the Soviet bloc or China), had taken place on a regular basis in Paris since 1975 and had examined a wide variety of economic issues in the area of energy, raw materials, development, and finance. The CIEC had been scheduled to terminate with a meeting at Ministerial level in December 1976. Following the U.S. November elections, it was agreed to postpone the final meeting of CIEC until May-June 1977. In December, on the motion of the G-77, the 31st session of the General Assembly was held open in order to complete the agenda item which called for the review of the results of the CIEC.

President Carter demonstrated his strong support for the UN by addressing the Permanent Representatives in New York on March 17, 1977. He expressed his sympathy with the leaders of the developing nations and stated that "the U.S. will be advancing proposals aimed at meeting basic human needs of the developing world and helping them to increase their productive capability." He added, "I also believe that the developing countries must acquire fuller participation in the global economic decision-making process."

The final CIEC meeting was held from May 30 to June 2. The report of the conference stated that participants were able to agree on a number of issues and measures related to energy, raw materials and trade, development, and finance. The developing countries announced, however, that it fell "short of the objectives envisaged for a comprehensive and equitable program of action designed to establish the new international economic order" and the developed countries "regretted that it had not proved possible to reach agreement on some important areas of the dialogue such as certain aspects of energy cooperation." The participants all agreed, nevertheless, that it had "contributed to a broader understanding of the international economic situation" and that "CIEC was only one phase in the ongoing dialogue between developed and developing countries which should continue to be pursued actively in the UN system and other existing, appropriate bodies."

Another major development occurred at the summer ECOSOC 1/on

1/ ECOSOC holds two major sessions each year--a spring session, usually in New York, and a summer session, usually in Geneva--with brief organizational and resumed sessions as required. ECOSOC does

July 8 when the US Representative to the United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young, clarified the U.S. attitude toward LDC aspirations for a new international economic order. He said

"The aspirations of the developing countries--the Third World--for achieving economic justice have come to be symbolized in the phrase 'New International Economic Order.' We support this concept, whatever particular phrase is used to express it. President Carter in his March foreign policy address, made in the hall of the General Assembly, stated our country's readiness to 'promote a new system of international economic progress and cooperation.' Secretary of State Vance at the Paris Conference on International Economic Cooperation called for 'a new international economic system' in which there must be equity, growth and above all justice."

He said the search was an evolving process which must be open to all ideas. No single blueprint could solve all problems. All are involved in a never-ending process toward objectives which must constantly be readjusted. This process must involve perseverance in pursuing valid concepts, but allowing for new as well.

Ambassador Young reiterated that the U.S. continued to have serious reservations about the two resolutions adopted by the 6th Special Session of the General Assembly in 1974 "on the establishment of a New International Economic Order." 2/ That did not mean, however, that we objected to the totality of those documents nor that we objected in any way to the broad concept of achieving a new and more equitable international economic order as an evolving, dynamic concept. He went on to say

"We plan to make this distinction clearer than we have heretofore when we are asked to join in reiterating the goal of achieving a New International Economic Order. Wherever the context permits we will interpret this to mean the broad, evolving concept I have been discussing, and on that basis we will indeed join in supporting it. On the other hand, we will not be able to join when we are asked to endorse or implement the provisions of the Sixth Special Session resolutions as a whole or to criticize ourselves for not doing so."

The 31st session of the General Assembly resumed September 13, to complete its review of the CIEC just before the opening of the

(footnote continued from p.85)

much of the preparatory work for the General Assembly, debating economic, social, scientific, and humanitarian issues. Reports from subsidiary bodies, independent specialized agencies and certain other bodies of the UN system are considered and those concerning certain points of interest are forwarded--with recommendations--to the General Assembly. In the Assembly they are generally considered in the Second Committee (Economic and Financial) or the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural).

2/ Resolution 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI).

32nd General Assembly¹ the following week. After several days of intensive negotiations, it proved impossible to reach agreement between the developed and developing countries on a resolution assessing results of the CIEC; hence, no action was taken.

Negotiations for the establishment of a common fund for commodities occupied center stage in the North/South Dialogue in 1977. While the U.S. continued to have serious reservations about various features of the Common Fund proposal put forward by the caucus of developing countries known as the Group of 77, we participated in two four-week sessions of the UN Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund in March and November, to explore the possibility of funding an acceptable compromise. The March conference ended without any agreed decision, as the U.S. and other major industrialized countries were not prepared to agree in principle to the establishment of a Common Fund before the nature of the fund was more fully defined. At the CIEC, however, it was agreed that a Common Fund should be established, and that its specific purposes, objectives and other constituent elements would continue to be negotiated in UNCTAD. Some progress was made in the November Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund, where the U.S. and other industrialized countries put forward a proposal to establish a fund that would be financed through international commodity agreements. The conference was suspended, however, one day prior to its scheduled conclusion, by the Group of 77, in an effort to put pressure on the industrialized countries to agree that the Common Fund could also receive financing through direct government contributions, and could have a "second window" to finance non-price stabilization measures, such as diversification and market promotion. At the 32nd General Assembly, the Group of 77 introduced a resolution, ³which was passed by a vote of 127 to 0, with 13 abstentions (U.S.), that called upon countries which have not yet done so to take the necessary political decisions to enable the negotiating conference to resume its work; the resolution also requested the Secretary-General of UNCTAD to undertake consultations with a view to reconvening the Negotiating Conference early in 1978.

RESUMED 31st GENERAL ASSEMBLY: ECONOMIC CONSIDERATION

With the postponement of the final session of CIEC from December 1976 to June 1977, the 31st General Assembly decided to hold open its agenda item 66, whose purpose was the assessment of the results of the CIEC. A resumed session of the 31st General Assembly was therefore scheduled for September 13-16, 1977, although it actually ran on until September 19 because of the difficult negotiations which ensued. A resolution was introduced by the Group of 77 containing an assessment of the CIEC session and providing an ongoing role for the General Assembly in monitoring negotiations on North/South issues. The western countries, including the United States, considered the assessment to be unbalanced as it was generally critical of the achievements of the CIEC and of the role played by the western countries at that conference. The western countries also had problems with the formulation in the G-77 draft of the General Assembly's ongoing role as this included the provision

³/ Resolution 32/193.

of guidelines and specific timeframes for the conduct of negotiations in specialized UN forums, as well as the promotion of solutions to issues unresolved in those negotiations. The western countries wished to avoid any implication that the General Assembly should intervene in such negotiations.

Most of the discussion of these differences took place in a negotiating group of the General Assembly's Second (Economic and Financial) Committee, which was the only Committee to meet during the resumed session. In the negotiating group, the United States introduced an informal draft containing suggested changes in the language of the G-77 draft designed to give appropriate balance both to the assessment of CIEC and to the ongoing role for the General Assembly. Despite lengthy negotiations and the extension of the session, however, it proved impossible to resolve these differences. The net result was that no action was taken one way or the other on the draft resolution.

32nd GENERAL ASSEMBLY: CONSIDERATION OF BROAD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

The question of an ongoing UN based forum for economic dialogue arose again at the 32nd regular session of the General Assembly, under an omnibus agenda item.

On November 22 the Group of 77 introduced in the Second Committee a resolution under the title of "Establishment of the New International Economic Order," which (1) called for the creation of an intersessional Committee of the Whole under the General Assembly to perform the overseeing role; (2) provided the Committee with a sweeping mandate that (in addition to the overseeing role) in effect invited interference in ongoing negotiations in specialized forums and even the assumption of the negotiating role on outstanding issues; (3) identified specific issues to be discussed, a number of which were phrased in terminology corresponding to Group of 77 positions and targets on controversial issues; and (4) convoked a special session of the UN General Assembly in 1980 to review progress and to adopt a new International Development Strategy (IDS) for the 1980's. The United States and other western industrialized countries had particular difficulty with those provisions described in (2) and (3) above.

After extensive consultations with other western industrialized countries, the United States on November 30 introduced an alternative draft under the title of "Development and International Economic Cooperation." This draft resolution (1) placed the overview function in the ECOSOC, assisted by a small working group to be created by ECOSOC; (2) provided a restricted mandate to review the progress of negotiations and programs in the UN system, involving an exploration of economic problems, "facilitation" of (but not interference in) negotiations, and the identification of gaps; (3) omitted any list of issues; and (4) provided a link between the overview and the IDS processes. Western countries, including the European Community, were generally supportive of the U.S. draft. The EC particularly favored placing this role under the ECOSOC, although they were reserved on the idea of a small working group.

With both the G-77 and the U.S. drafts on the table, an open-

ended negotiating group was formed to try to reconcile the differences. The result was a new draft, introduced in the Second Committee by the Chairman of the negotiating group. No agreement could be reached on the title of the resolution, since some western countries objected to the original title, "Establishment of the New International Economic Order" (NIEO), and the G-77 would accept no other. The unusual compromise was reached to have no title.

This new draft created a Committee of the Whole of the General Assembly to meet intersessionally until 1980, with a mandate to assist the General Assembly by acting as the focal point in (1) overseeing and monitoring decisions and agreements reached in appropriate UN bodies on the establishment of the NIEO; (2) providing impetus for resolving difficulties in negotiations in these bodies; (3) facilitating and expediting agreement on outstanding issues; and (4) exploring and exchanging views on global economic problems and priorities. This mandate thus avoided the implication of interference in ongoing negotiations or the assumption of the negotiating role of UN specialized forums. The ECOSOC's role was reduced to an ill-defined one of contributing effectively to the work of the Committee. The draft resolution also convened a special session of the General Assembly in 1980, which is to receive the final report of the Committee of the Whole, assess progress in the various UN forums in the establishment of the NIEO, take appropriate action for promoting the development of the developing countries and international economic cooperation, including the adoption of a new International Development Strategy for the 1980's.

This draft resolution was approved by consensus in the Second Committee on December 15, 1977. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Wells, then made an explanatory statement underlining the importance of the new committee in the continuing dialogue on world economic problems, both by providing a means for high-level exploration and exchange of views and by encouraging the work of specialized bodies dealing with specific issues. She expressed the hope it would provide an element of cohesion to the work of the United Nations system. However, she stated certain reservations and interpretations.

The provision calling for negotiations within the framework of the UN system should not affect the terms of reference of other bodies including some outside of the UN system such as Multilateral Trade Negotiations. However, allowance must be made for some future negotiations taking place outside the system. The United States shared the general recognition of the desirability of carrying forward central elements of the North/South dialogue within the UN system.

With respect to the Committee's mandate, the United States appreciated the elimination of the suggestion that the Committee might under some circumstances intervene in negotiations in progress in specialized bodies or even assume the negotiating role itself on unresolved issues, as negotiations should remain the province of the specialized bodies in accordance with their constitutions and practices

The United States understood that the word "monitoring" did not connote the function of passing judgment on the performance or

compliance of individual countries or national entities on give. issues.

The term "within agreed and specified time-frames" was understood to refer to time-frames to be set by the respective negotiating bodies themselves and not by the Committee.

With respect to references to the NIEO, the U.S. Government sympathized with and supported its promotion in the sense of an evolving concept providing an overall framework for dialogue and progress in the achievement of a more productive and equitable world economy, as distinct from the resolutions adopted by the sixth special session of the General Assembly, on certain provisions of which the U.S. Government maintains its reservations.

Finally, with reference to the assertion that further resolute efforts must be made by developed countries, the United States reaffirmed its intention to make such efforts but considered that similar efforts would have to be made by all countries, domestically and internationally.

The draft resolution ⁴/was adopted by consensus on December 19, 1977, by the Assembly in plenary session.

International Development Strategy

A resolution to set in motion the machinery for drafting a new International Development Strategy (IDS) for the Third Development Decade (the 1980s) was supposed to be the companion piece to the resolution which created the General Assembly's Committee of the Whole. In fact, a resolution of the 31st General Assembly had decided that the Assembly would at its 32nd session consider appropriate action for the preparation of a new IDS.

The Group of 77 did introduce a draft resolution to this effect, which would have given this task to the ECOSOC's Review and Appraisal Committee, expanded to permit the participation of all countries. The draft also identified a number of subject areas to be included in the IDS, doing so in a manner which reflected across the board G-77 positions and targets, in effect confounding the original concept of IDS with a full G-77 program for a new international economic order (NIEO). The draft was not acceptable to the group of "Western European and Other" States (including the U.S.). The EC countries circulated an informal counter-draft, but this was never formally introduced. No concerted negotiations between Group B and the Group of 77 took place, however, to try to reach an agreement.

The result was the adoption of a decision transmitting the G-77 draft (the only one formally introduced) to the 33rd General Assembly for consideration.

⁴/ Resolution 32/174.

SPECIAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE

A number of economic assistance resolutions were adopted in the spring and summer ECOSOC sessions and the General Assembly. In general, these resolutions called on UN bodies, international financial institutions and member countries to increase their economic assistance to specific countries because of the severe economic difficulties encountered in the respective countries for a variety of reasons. All of the resolutions were adopted without vote. The ECOSOC adopted resolutions 5 on behalf of Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, and the drought stricken areas of Ethiopia. The General Assembly adopted, on the recommendation of the Second Committee, similar resolutions 6 on assistance to the Comoros, Djibouti, Tonga, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Botswana, Lesotho, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Seychelles, Vietnam and the drought stricken areas of Ethiopia.

The two resolutions that caused the U.S. difficulty were those relating to Mozambique and Vietnam, due to Congressional restrictions on aid to these countries. On October 6, following approval by the Second Committee of the Vietnam resolution, the U.S. Representative, Melissa Wells, made a statement disassociating the U.S. from the consensus; stating that the U.S. Government did not consider that it had any obligation to provide aid; but adding that "we look forward to working with Vietnam to help bring about a new era of peace, cooperation and friendship." Following approval of the Mozambique resolution by the Second Committee, November 18, the U.S. Representative made a statement pointing out that our legislative consideration prevented us from undertaking bilateral aid and required us to oppose loans from international development banks for Mozambique during the 1978 fiscal year. He recalled previous U.S. assistance.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR EUROPE

ECE was established in 1947 and is one of five regional economic commissions reporting to ECOSOC. It has 34 members--the European members of the United Nations plus the United States, Switzerland, and Canada. Other countries that are UN members (e.g., Japan, Israel) also participate in its work when matters of particular concern to them are considered. As a UN organization composed largely of developed industrial nations, ECE concentrates on seeking solutions to common problems that confront modern industrial societies. The organization normally acts through consensus developed by the Eastern and Western caucuses.

ECE carries out its activities through 15 principal committees (Agricultural Problems; Chemical Industry; Coal; Electric Power; Gas; Housing, Building, and Planning; Inland Transport; Steel; Timber; Development of Trade; Water Problems; Conference of European Statisticians; Senior Economic Advisers; Senior Advisers on Environ-

5/ Resolutions 2093-2096 (LXIII) and 2047 (LXII).

6/ Resolutions 32/92-101, 32/3, and 32/55.

mental Problems; Senior Advisers on Science and Technology) and many subsidiary bodies which deal with specialized aspects of the programs of the principal committees. Still other parts of the Commission's work program are dealt with by special ad hoc groups working on such matters as energy, automation, and standardization.

ECE also convenes symposia, seminars, and conferences on topics of special interest to member governments and publishes the results for use by governments and by private specialists. In connection with such meetings, study tours are occasionally arranged in member countries. A notable example during 1977 was the convening of the Joint FAO/ECE Working Party on the Mechanization of Agriculture in Washington, D.C., September 6-9, followed by a study tour in the upper Midwest (Illinois, Iowa, and Michigan).

The ECE Secretariat is headed by an Executive Secretary, Janez Stanovnik (Yugoslavia), and includes a number of outstanding experts who prepare and service the meetings of the Commission and its subsidiary bodies. The Secretariat also prepares many surveys, studies, and statistical compilations which are distributed to governments for their use.

ECE's terms of reference are broad and have been adapted to the changing character of its work. Its principal task when it was established was to facilitate the postwar economic reconstruction of Europe. Over the years ECE has evolved into a forum where East and West can consult and negotiate on common economic problems and develop conventions and other less formal arrangements on subjects of mutual interest. It provides a unique forum for expanding East-West exchange in commercial, environmental, technical, and scientific fields.

ECE's activities have taken on a new focus as the result of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The CSCE Final Act, signed in Helsinki, August 1, 1975, identified ECE as one of the major forums through which the participating states would continue the multilateral process initiated by the CSCE. Specific tasks referred to ECE in the Final Act included (1) a study of the possibilities for creating a multilateral system of notification of changes in laws and regulations concerning foreign trade; (2) encouragement of international cooperation in the field of trade promotion, including marketing; (3) encouragement of international work on the harmonization of statistical nomenclatures; (4) improvement of the provision of information on general conditions for industrial cooperation and guidance on the preparation of contracts in this field; (5) development and expansion of cooperation in the field of environment; (6) a study of the procedures and experience of governments in developing capabilities for predicting environmental consequences of economic activities and technological development; (7) intensification of the work of the ECE Inland Transport Committee with a view to improving international transportation links; (8) continued work on eliminating disparities arising from national legal provisions applied to traffic on inland waterways which are subject to international conventions; (9) a study of possibilities for expanding multilateral scientific and technological cooperation, taking into account models for projects and research used in various international organizations; and (10) fostering scientific and technological cooperation by sponsoring

conferences, symposia, and study and working groups such as those which would bring younger scientists and technologists together with eminent specialists in their fields.

The process of adapting the Commission's work to bring it into conformity with the priorities established by the Final Act, begun in 1976, continued in 1977. At its 32nd plenary session, held in Geneva, April 19-30, 1977, the Commission established criteria for the holding of "high-level meetings" within the ECE. It further decided, in relation to the criteria, to "consider constructively" the holding of a high-level meeting on the protection of the environment, with a view to taking a decision on this question at the next plenary session. The Commission expanded the role of the ECE in the field of general energy problems and authorized in this connection a study of new issues affecting the energy economy of the ECE region in the medium and long term.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COMMISSION FOR ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

Established in 1947, ESCAP's membership changed to 33 full members and 8 associate members in 1977, with the acceptance of Papua New Guinea's change in status from an associate member to a full member. Five of the full members (France, Netherlands, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and United States) are from outside the region, which covers the huge area from Mongolia south to New Zealand and from Iran east to the South Pacific island nations. ESCAP has its headquarters in Bangkok, although some subsidiary bodies and other activities are in other Asian cities.

The Commission's 33rd plenary session was held in Bangkok, April 20-30, 1977. The session was generally uneventful and the prevailing attitude among the delegations was a constructive one of willingness to reach a suitable compromise on various issues. There was less talk of UNDP shortfalls (prevalent in the previous Commission session) and more emphasis on regional self-help and technical cooperation among developing countries. A growing tendency to accentuate the role of the Pacific area was evident in several actions, including the re-naming of several regional institutions to include "the Pacific" in their titles. Disappointment was frequently expressed that little or no progress had been made in the North/South dialogue, but these statements were generally restrained and low-key.

The Commission adopted a number of important resolutions that, inter alia, (1) requested the Executive Secretary to proceed with work on an integrated rural development program as a matter of highest priority; (2) called upon the Secretariat to assume a major role in promoting both economic and technical cooperation among developing countries of the region; (3) endorsed the Executive Secretary's action in setting up an Intergovernmental Governing Council to provide policy guidance for activities of the regional training and research institutions; (4) requested the Executive Secretary to establish a Regional Coordination Center for Research and Development of Coarse Grains, Pulses, Roots, and Tubers; (5) requested the Executive Secretary to explore the possibility of convening an early meeting at the ministerial level to discuss intra-regional trade problems; and (6) requested the Executive Secretary

to explore with developing island countries of the Pacific ways of enabling them to play a more active role in the work of the Commission. In addition, ESCAP welcomed the steps being taken by Laos, Vietnam, and Thailand to reactivate and expand the activities of the Mekong Committee 7/relating to the development of the water resources of the lower Mekong basin.

Much of the more detailed consideration of ESCAP's work is done in the various legislative committees and in the Advisory Committee of Permanent Representatives and other Representatives Designated by Members of the Commission (on which the United States is represented by a Deputy Permanent Representative). During 1977 the United States participated in meetings of the committees on Natural Resources; Agricultural Development; Development Planning; Shipping, and Transportation and Communication; and Trade. It also took part in meetings of several nonlegislative bodies and regional projects, as well as the regional preparatory meeting for the UN Conference on Science and Technology for Development (scheduled for 1979).

Established at the 32nd Commission session, in 1976, the Asian and Pacific Center for Women and Development was officially inaugurated on February 27, 1977, in Tehran. The United States in 1977 contributed \$25,000 to the Center and an additional \$25,000 for women's programs to be carried out by ESCAP in cooperation with the Center.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA

ECLA was established in 1948 as a regional center to promote the economic development of Latin America and to strengthen economic relations along the Latin American countries and between the region and the rest of the world. To this end, ECLA produces studies of various sectors of the Latin American economy, analyzes economic and social conditions in the region, and reviews the progress of development plans and programs. ECLA has 29 Western Hemisphere members (including the United States and Canada), three nonregional members (France, United Kingdom, and Netherlands), and two associate members (Belize and the West Indies Associated States). ECLA has its headquarters in Santiago, Chile and small branch offices in Washington and six Latin American cities.

ECLA's 17th biennial session was held from April 25 to May 5 in Guatemala City. Its work was carried out in two phases: the first, at the technical level, took place between April 25 and 29; the second, at the ministerial level, was between May 2 and 5. ECLA's Executive Secretary, Enrique Iglesias (Chile), sounded the keynote of the session when he emphasized the importance of promoting human development and social change if Latin America's remarkable economic growth record was to be truly meaningful.

Ambassador Young, who headed the U.S. delegation, addressed the Commission on May 3 and also emphasized that economic develop-

7/ Committee for Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin.

ment and social justice must be integrated. He cited a number of problems that confronted the nations of the hemisphere--poverty and malnutrition, unplanned population growth, unemployment and under-employment, unevenness in the distribution of income, and illiteracy and lack of educational opportunity. He also said there was reason to be concerned about the alarming loss of momentum in progress toward rule by constitutional law, and protection and promotion of basic human rights and fundamental freedoms. Stressing that these were not problems restricted to developing countries or to Latin America, he pointed out that the countries of the ECLA region had recognized many of the problems and were actively searching for solutions. He called for an integrated approach to all the problems and proposed that ECLA, inter alia, (1) consider a series of conferences to discuss ways to meld social justice and economic development; (2) set priorities to focus its efforts; (3) choose programs that would give relief to the poorest; and (4) bring the people into the economic process by expanding domestic markets and concentrating on basic human needs.

The Commission approved new priority areas for future ECLA work, including critical poverty and rural development; North/South relations and special trade problems; regional integration and technical cooperation among developing countries; integration of women into social and economic development; human settlements; transfer of technology; and environment. Since the conclusion of the Guatemala session, Executive Secretary Iglesias has sought to reorganize the ECLA secretariat to focus better on the priorities established there.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA

ECA was established by ECOSOC in 1958. Full membership is limited to independent African countries; the United Kingdom, France, and Spain are associate members. The United States, while not a member, supports the Commission's activities by maintaining liaison with ECA headquarters in Addis Ababa, attending a number of its meetings as an observer, and providing technical and economic assistance.

ECA is charged with (1) promoting the economic and social development of Africa; (2) strengthening economic relations among African countries and territories; (3) undertaking studies of economic development; (4) collecting, evaluating, and disseminating economic and technical information; and (5) helping formulate policies to promote economic development. The Commission also provides advisory services to its members in various economic and social fields.

From February 24 to March 3, the Fourth Ministerial Conference of ECA was held at Kinshasa, Zaire. Setting the tone of the Conference, ECA Executive Secretary Adebayo Adedeji stressed the need for African self-reliance as well as for greater support and commitment by member countries to the work and objectives of ECA. Adedeji argued that even if the world economic order should be fundamentally restructured, Africa would only benefit marginally unless a corresponding economic restructuring is achieved at the national and regional levels.

Although the Conference was held only 1 month after President Carter had assumed office, the new administration, through its observer delegation attending the meetings, expressed its intent to be more responsive to Africa's concerns.

The United States continued to provide bilateral assistance to the ECA in 1977 by providing support for (1) the 2-year assignment of a Senior Regional Advisor in remote sensing, (2) the programs of the African Training and Research Center for Women, (3) advisory services in nonconventional sources of energy, (4) training programs for the staffs of both ECA and African economic cooperation organizations, and (5) an internship program to recruit and train more Africans for employment in ECA. In addition, the United States is financing the services of a training officer for ECA's African Trade Center.

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR WESTERN ASIA

ECWA came into existence on January 1, 1974. The August 1973 ECOSOC resolution that approved its establishment provided that "the Commission shall consist of the states members of the United Nations situated in Western Asia which at present call on services of the United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut" and that future applications for membership by member states would be decided on by ECOSOC upon the recommendation of ECWA. That wording limited the original membership to 12 Arab states ⁸/and effectively excluded Israel, even though it is a UN member of the region involved, because it had not used the UN office in Beirut. The United States had objected at the time, considering that the language was contrary to the terms of and practice under the UN Charter.

The fourth plenary session of ECWA was held in Amman, Jordan, April 24-29, 1977. At ECWA's invitation, the United States sent an observer to the session, which adopted 16 resolutions. Two of the resolutions of particular significance recommended that ECOSOC admit Egypt and the PLO as full members in ECWA. Both the U.S. and EC observer delegations attempted to speak in opposition to the membership of the PLO, but were prevented from doing so. Subsequently both delegations submitted written statements saying that they felt it was wrong to accord full membership status to organizations which were not states.

On July 22 ECOSOC admitted both Egypt and the PLO to membership in ECWA. The resolution on Egypt was adopted without a vote; ⁹/ the resolution amending the terms of reference of ECWA to include the PLO as a full member was adopted by a rollcall vote of 27 to 11 (U.S.), with 12 abstentions.¹⁰/ Speaking before the vote, the

⁸ / Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Yemen (Aden), and Yemen (Sana).

⁹ / Resolution 2088 (LXIII).

¹⁰ / Resolution 2089 (LXIII). Those voting in favor: Afghanistan,

U.S. Representative, Ambassador Melissa F. Wells, affirmed that the United States continued to support assistance to improve the economic and social well-being of the Palestinian people but considered the question of PLO membership in ECWA an entirely separate matter. There was no precedent anywhere in the UN system for according non-states full membership status. In the U.S. view, she said, full membership entailed both rights and obligations and should be limited--as it had been--to those willing to accept full obligations and capable of implementing them. A number of other states explained their inability to support the resolution on similar legal and precedential grounds.

ECWA also adopted a number of resolutions dealing with aspects of its work program. These included resolutions that (1) established a technical assistance development program for the reconstruction of Lebanon; (2) encouraged interregional and intraregional cooperation; (3) called for the inclusion of the practices of transnational corporations in the oil industry among the issues to be studied by the Unit on Transnational Corporations within the ECWA secretariat that is operated jointly by ECWA and the UN Center on Transnational Corporations (a part of the UN Secretariat); (4) called on the ECWA secretariat and member states to implement a program of regional cooperation in the field of water resources development; and (5) requested the Executive Secretary to arrange for further cooperation with the ECA.

UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

The UNDP is a voluntary fund which finances the world's largest multilateral program of grant technical assistance. Established in 1966 through the merger of two earlier programs, the UN Special Fund and the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, the UNDP is the main source of funding for technical assistance activities in the UN system. In recent years it has financed approximately one-half of all technical assistance activities carried out by the various UN agencies. The UNDP responds to requests from developing countries for technical assistance, with an increasing emphasis on the poorest. In 1977 UNDP projects were under way in some 150 countries and territories. In the current programming period (1977-1981) over half of all assistance is being provided to countries with a per capita GNP below \$200 annually.

Projects of a few months to several years in duration, in such fields as agriculture, industry, education, health, economic

(Footnote continued from p. 96)

Algeria, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Iraq, Jamaica, Kenya, Malaysia, Mauritania, Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian S.S.R., U.S.S.R., Yemen (Sana), Yugoslavia, Zaire. Those opposed: Austria, Canada, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, United Kingdom, United States. Those abstaining: Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Iran, Japan, Mexico, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Venezuela.

policy and planning, transportation, and natural resource exploration, comprise the major part of the UNDP program. Preinvestment investigations and feasibility studies leading to soundly based capital projects are another major area of activity. In addition the UNDP undertakes smaller projects designed either to train nationals by means of fellowships or to provide countries with required expertise through the use of expert advisers. Both types of projects are normally executed for the UNDP by one of the other participating agencies of the UN system, such as FAO, UNESCO, WHO or UNDIO. The UNDP also directly undertakes a limited number of regional, inter-regional, and global projects to help create vital research institutions and seek resolution of problems affecting a number of countries.

The UNDP has its headquarters in New York. Its Administrator, Bradford Morse of the United States, took office in January 1976.

Governing and Advisory Bodies

The UNDP is a subsidiary organ of the UN General Assembly, which sets overall UNDP policy. It is administered under the authority of ECOSOC and the General Assembly. The UNDP's operating policies are established and its programs and budgets approved by a Governing Council composed of representatives of 48 states--21 developed and 27 developing.^{11/} States are elected by ECOSOC for 3-year terms and are eligible for reelection; the United States has been a member of the Governing Council since the UNDP's establishment. The Governing Council, which meets twice a year--briefly in New York in January and with a full session in Geneva in June--reports annually to the General Assembly through ECOSOC.

As provided in various decisions of the General Assembly, the Governing Council also serves as governing body for the UN Fund for Population Activities, the UN Capital Development Fund, the UN Volunteers, the UN Trust for Sudano-Sahelian Activities, the UN Revolving Fund for Natural Resources Exploration, the UN Trust Fund for Colonial Countries and Peoples, and the UN Special Fund for Landlocked Developing Countries. The Governing Council also provides general policy guidance for the small program of technical assistance financed from the regular UN budget.

Secretariat and Field Organization

The UNDP's administrative apparatus consists of a Secretariat in New York, headed by the Administrator, and 108 field offices in

^{11/} Members in 1977 were: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Benin, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Canada, China, Colombia, Congo, Cuba, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Guinea, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Japan, Kuwait, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Malta, Mexico, Netherlands, Niger, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Swaziland, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Yemen (Sana).

developing countries where programs are being carried out. At the end of 1977 UNDP's internationally recruited staff numbered 1,072, including 546 in professional grades. These figures have remained virtually unchanged over the last four years.

UNDP Resident Representatives advise their host governments on development planning and UN assistance and, within their countries of assignment, coordinate the operation of programs financed by the UNDP, the Capital Development Fund, and (where a program exists) the United Nations Revolving Fund for Natural Resources Exploration. The Resident Representatives' coordinating function also encompasses relations between host government planning authorities and most UN development system agencies. Resident Representatives act on behalf of, and furnish support for, the activities of such other UN agencies as the World Food Program, the UN Environment Program, the Office of Disaster Relief, and the UN Office of Technical Cooperation.

Program Development: Patterns of Development Assistance

UNDP development assistance is provided on the basis of individual country planning figures ("IPF's") computed to cover periods (cycles) of five years. The first such cycle extended from 1972-1976; the second cycle began in 1977 and will extend through 1981. IPF's in the first cycle were largely set on the basis of proportional equality to aid supplied by UNDP from 1967 through 1971. That is, countries were given a claim to UNDP resources projected for the years 1972 through 1976 equal to the percentage of such resources they actually received in the earlier 5-year period. IPF figures for a second cycle have been calculated on a different basis, however, with each country's population and per capita gross national product being the principal factors in determining IPF size.

As a result of the substitution of these new criteria there has been, between the first and second cycle, a significant shift in allocation of resources. In the second cycle increases over first cycle funding are going to countries whose per capita GNP falls below the \$700 level. That group of countries with a per capita GNP of \$150 or less will receive 48% of total UNDP assistance (compared with 34% in the first cycle). The group whose per capita GNP is below \$400 will receive nearly 70% of resources (as compared with the first cycle's 56%).

Total IPF's for 1972-1976 came to \$1,537 billion. The total anticipated for 1977-1981, based on anticipated annual growth in contributions of 14%, is \$2,455 million. A January 1978 sectoral analysis of 66 second cycle country programs compared projects approved at that point in the cycle with projects approved at a similar point in the first. It showed that the sector shares of agriculture and industry remained stable, accounting for approximately 24% and 21% respectively of total activities. Economic and social planning received greater emphasis, its share rising from 10% to 17%. Other second cycle figures are: transport and communications, 9%; education, natural resources, health, and science and technology, 6% each; labor, management, and employment, 3%; international trade, 1%; and social security and social services, 1%.

Describing UNDP activity in 1977 from the point of view of number of individual projects, yields the following statistics: large-scale activities (costing \$150,000 or more), 1700; small-scale activities, 2,100; projects in either a pre-operational stage or field completed (but with final accounts not yet rendered), 4,650.

Program Development: Financing Issues

UNDP's financial resources come from annual voluntary contributions by governments. In June 1976 the UNDP Governing Council adopted a standard which called for contributors to increase their funding by 14% annually. This standard was adhered to unevenly in 1977. The United States, for example, gave the same amount in both years (\$100 million). So did France (\$10 million), Kuwait (\$500,000), Qatar (\$200,000), and Barbados (\$19,838). However, the U.S., for the first time, also contributed to the UN Revolving Fund for Natural Resources Exploration and the Capital Development Fund. Some countries adhered fairly closely to the standard, Sweden increasing its contribution by 13.6% and Denmark by 15.8%. A few substantially raised their contributions, in dollar terms (Panama by 58%, Libya by 33%, and the Federal Republic of Germany by 28.4%). A few others raised their contributions by smaller amounts (Japan by 10%, Paraguay by 3.2%, Brazil by 2%). There also were several countries whose contributions declined. The net result was an increase in UNDP resources from 1976 to 1977 of 12.2% (from \$466 to \$523 million).

The \$523 million raised in voluntary contributions in 1977 gives reason both for satisfaction and concern about UNDP's future. It is encouraging to note that this sum includes contributions from 141 countries, including four (Israel, Kuwait, Qatar and Spain) that voluntarily relinquished all grant UNDP assistance. Contributions from eight other aid recipients exceeded the value of total UNDP help provided in 1977. One further positive factor is that the OPEC states, in addition to their individual contributions, made a collective contribution of \$20 million earmarked primarily to regional projects for raising energy, food, and mineral production.

However, despite these encouraging developments, UNDP in 1977 failed to meet its goal of increasing total contributions by 14%. Even the 12.2% increase realized is somewhat misleading, since it includes contributions of currencies which are not all freely convertible. Four years are left in the planning cycle, during which UNDP may be able to resolve these problems. Should they not be resolved, however, UNDP will conclude its second planning cycle having fallen short of raising the funds necessary to meet all its IPF commitments.

Capital Development Fund

Although the name given it when it was established in 1966 by the General Assembly may suggest an institution on the order of the international development banks, the Capital Development Fund might more appropriately be called the "Light Capital Technology Fund." Twenty-one of twenty-three countries where it provides assistance

are among the least developed. In these countries it is generally the poorest of the poor who receive help.

Help consists of financial support for rudimentary-to-intermediate stage technology which poor people themselves are able to manage, control, and use in penetrating markets accessible to them. These projects have to be relatively small to provide beneficiaries with a sense of identification, group motivation, and early results. Project activities have included irrigation and food storage systems; construction of rural schools and health centers; the establishment of cottage industries, cooperatives, and credit unions; and the furnishing of vocational training facilities.

The UNDP Administrator serves as the Fund's managing director, and the UNDP Governing Council is the Fund's executive board. The Fund has a small headquarters staff in New York but, for information from the field, it relies on the resources of UNDP. (This includes UNDP Resident Representatives and UN specialized agency employees and experts hired on contract reporting to UNDP headquarters through the Resident Representatives.) In this way the Fund is able to take advantage of UNDP's infrastructure and keep its own overhead costs (now 2%) to a minimum.

During 1977, Capital Development Fund resources approached a total of \$49 million, including an initial U.S. contribution of \$2 million. Other major donors were (including pledges for 1978) the Netherlands (\$27 million), Sweden (\$17 million), Norway (\$8 million), Yugoslavia (\$3.3 million), and Denmark (\$2.7 million). By the end of 1977 the Fund had allocated \$47.4 million to 66 projects in 23 developing countries.

UN Revolving Fund for Natural Resources Exploration

The United Nations Revolving Fund for Natural Resources Exploration was established in December 1973, to be managed on behalf of the Secretary-General by the Administrator of the UNDP.

The Fund is meant to finance technical assistance necessary to help developing countries locate mineral reserves, determine their quantity and quality, and assess their economic value. Its range of operation is intended to be just below the margin of profitability that normally governs decisions regarding resources exploration. That is, the Fund is not intended to compete with the traditional exploration activities of private industry, national public corporations, or the UNDP. Neither is it intended that the Fund's resources be spent on broad geological surveys or marginal mineral projects unlikely to prove economically viable. The Fund is intended to cover a middle ground, encompassing projects whose prospects are not so great as to attract the attention of traditional resources explorers yet not so poor as to have but limited chance for success.

In theory the Fund eventually will become self-sustaining. Countries receiving assistance undertake to make "replenishment contributions" in the event that Fund activities lead to actual commercial production within 30 years after the start of exploration. The replenishment rate is calculated at two percent of the annual

value of produced commodities for a period of fifteen years from the start of commercial production until a specified ceiling is reached. Replenishment payments were expected to make the Fund self-sustaining within a period of 25 years or less. As of the end of 1977, however, Fund operations were being financed exclusively through voluntary contributions, and the number of activities actually commenced in nearly three years of operations was less than a half dozen, due in part to the long planning periods typical of natural resource projects.

Total voluntary pledges to the Fund, as of December 31, 1977, were just under \$20 million; \$3.5 million of this came from the United States. Total project allocations approved (as of the same date) stood at \$8.1 million.

UN Regular Program

Provision is made annually in the UN-assessed budget for a small-scale "Regular Program of Technical Assistance." Expenditures in 1977 for technical cooperation activities carried out under this Program amounted to \$8.4 million (plus some \$2.2 million earmarked for industrial development which was administered by UNIDO).

The Program, for which the UNDP Governing Council provides general policy guidance, operates under a series of General Assembly resolutions relating to economic development, social welfare, public administration, human rights, narcotics, regional and sub-regional advisory services and education in southern Africa.

Major areas of activity in 1977 were natural resources and transport (\$1.9 million), development planning (\$2.8 million), social development (\$1.6 million), and public administration (\$0.6 million). Emphasis was increasingly placed on regional and interregional projects with the latter accounting for 44% of all expenditures. Program activities in Africa absorbed 22% of total outlays.

Criteria for the use of Regular Program funds dictate that they be employed as seed money (e.g., for pilot projects) or to provide kinds of assistance unavailable from other sources. By way of example, the Regular Program's interregional advisory services are distinct from those furnished by UNDP--making available high level, widely experienced specialists for short-term advisory missions aimed at resolving specific top priority development problems.

Although sympathetic with the effort to provide additional assistance to the least developed countries, the United States, consistent with its view regarding the overall UN development system, has continued to advocate that technical assistance for development be eliminated from the UN assessed budget and be funded by voluntary contributions to the UNDP and other UN programs. This would restrict the Regular Program to those few program areas for which there are no other sources of funds.

UN INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATION

In 1966, the General Assembly established UNIDO as an autonomous organization within the United Nations to promote and accelerate the industrialization of the developing countries. Membership in UNIDO is open to all members of the United Nations, specialized agencies, and the IAEA; the United States has been a member since its inception. UNIDO has its headquarters in Vienna.

The Industrial Development Board (IDB) is UNIDO's policy-formulating body and is comprised of 45 states which are elected by the General Assembly on a rotating basis for 3-year terms.^{12/} The IDB held its Eleventh Session in 1977 from May 23 through June 6.

The headquarters and field staff of UNIDO, about 1,000 individuals, promote industrial development by making available internationally recruited experts, by training developing country personnel, by establishing pilot institutions, and by preparing investment project proposals for consideration by multilateral and bilateral financing institutions. Support activities provided by the Secretariat include research and publications on development and transfer of appropriate technologies; on specific industrial sectors, such as fertilizers, iron and steel, petrochemicals, and pharmaceuticals; and on industrial functions such as infrastructure, factory establishment, and factory management. UNIDO also provides several information clearing house services and organizes expert symposia, sectoral consultations between governmental and non-governmental participants to explore new opportunities for cooperation, and promotional conferences to stimulate contacts among businessmen, consultants, and government officials from countries at all levels of industrialization. UNIDO's funding comes largely from assessed contributions and UNDP. UNIDO does not provide capital assistance.

Program Activities

In 1977, UNIDO expended \$43.9 million on technical assistance programs. Voluntary contributions provided most of the financing for these UNIDO projects, with almost 78 percent coming from UNDP sources (e.g., country programs, special industrial services). UNIDO trust funds provided another 18 percent, with only a small 4.9 percent financed from the UN assessed budget's regular program of technical assistance.

The largest programs of technical cooperation comprised programs

^{12/} Members in 1977 were Algeria, Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Cameroon, Chad, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Grenada, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Ivory Coast, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands, Nigeria, Peru, Romania, Sudan, Swaziland, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Upper Volta, and Venezuela.

for agro-industries (\$6.4 million), followed by projects in institutional infrastructure (\$6.1 million), chemical industries (\$5.9 million), engineering (\$5.7 million), and training (\$4.7 million). Other smaller programs included investment cooperation, industrial planning, factory establishment and management, feasibility studies and program formulation and direction.

The UNIDO section of the United Nations regular budget for 1977 which funds administration and research activities and project support costs, amounted to \$24.1 million. In addition, UNIDO received \$5.3 million in overhead funds from UNDP and \$.4 million in other extrabudgetary funds which brought total UNIDO expenditures, including technical assistance programs, to \$73.7 million in 1977.

The United States supported UNIDO financially in 1977 through its annual voluntary contribution to the UNDP and through its assessed contribution to the UN regular budget. Furthermore, as in the past, a number of UNIDO-sponsored training projects were carried out in the United States.

Industrial Development Fund

The United Nations Industrial Development Fund (UNIDF) was established by the General Assembly in 1976, to replace the General Trust Fund. Pledges of \$7.2 million from 67 countries were made at the October 1977 pledging conference. The initial round of pledges fell far short of the \$50 million, a target which had been established at CIEC. However, by the end of the year, further pledges from fifteen countries raised the total to \$8.4 million. Major donors were the Federal Republic of Germany, India, and Saudi Arabia. The United States did not contribute to the IDF nor any special purpose trust fund because it continued to believe that all such activities should be supported through contributions to the UNDP.

Negotiations on a Specialized Agency Constitution

The General Assembly at its Seventh Special Session in 1975 had endorsed the idea of converting UNIDO into a specialized agency and had established a Committee on the Drafting of a Constitution for UNIDO as an Intergovernmental Committee of the Whole (IGC). Four meetings were held during 1976 and a fifth in March 1977. Although there were still outstanding issues at the end of this meeting it was decided that the convening of a conference of plenipotentiaries should take place in August, 1977. However, after consideration at its 63rd Session, ECOSOC on August 4 adopted, without vote, a resolution¹³ that recommended that the General Assembly should fix appropriate dates for convening the Plenipotentiary Conference at UN Headquarters in New York. On December 19, on the recommendation of its Second Committee, the General Assembly adopted a resolution¹⁴ that called for the Conference to

¹³ / Resolution 2113 (LXIII).

¹⁴ / Resolution 32/167.

be convened for a period of three weeks beginning February 20, 1978. The resolution was adopted by a recorded vote of 125 to 1 (U.S.), with 10 abstentions. The U.S. negative vote reflected the belief that one more technical level meeting was necessary to deal with issues still left unresolved at the end of the fifth meeting of IGC.

System of Consultations

In 1977, four consultation meetings were convened, each being the first such meeting in its relevant industrial sector. The four meetings were held on the following sectors: the fertilizer industry (January), the iron and steel industry (February), the leather and leather products industry (November), and the vegetable oils and fats industry (December). Each meeting was attended by 150-250 participants from 55-65 different countries. For each meeting, UNIDO presented an issues paper, prepared by an internal task force, and a worldwide study of the industry concerned, prepared by the UNIDO International Center for Industrial Studies.

The Industrial Development Board, at its eleventh session, in May-June 1977, authorized UNIDO to make initial preparations for consultation meetings on additional sectors such as agricultural machinery, petrochemicals, capital goods, pharmaceuticals, and agro-based industries. In addressing this subject at the General Assembly the U.S. Representative, Congressman Whalen, noted, in the Second Committee on October 26, that the U.S. had taken an active part in elaborating the program for developing a system of consultations in the field of industry and supported the plans to expand consultations to fields other than iron and steel and fertilizers. He went on to say that the future effectiveness of the consultations would depend on the widest possible participation from all interested sectors, including industry, labor and consumer groups.

The U.S. participated in all the consultations with the non-governmental representatives from the TVA and the International Fertilizer Development Center at the fertilizer meetings; a Vice President of U.S. Steel Corporation at the iron and steel meetings; the U.S. Tanners Association and an observer from the U.S. Mission to UNIDO at the leather and leather products meetings; and a representative of the American Soybean Association, an expert from the Department of Agriculture, and an observer from the U.S. Mission to UNIDO at the vegetable oils and fats meetings.

Senior Industrial Field Advisers

1977 saw a substantial increase in the Industrial Development Field Adviser (SIDFA) program. The strengthening of this program is due in part to the decision of the Governing Council of UNDP, taken at its 23rd session in January 1977, to increase the number of field advisers financed by UNDP to 30 in 1977 and the decision taken at the 24th session in June 1977, to raise the number to 36 in 1978. At the outset of the year, the number of field advisers in developing countries was 15; this rose to 23 by the end of the year. Agreements to finance additional field advisers on a bilateral basis have been reached with the Governments of Japan, Federal

Republic of Germany, and Austria.

On December 12 the Second Committee approved a resolution^{15/} which had been introduced by Jamaica on behalf of the Group of 77 (the developing countries) that, inter alia, recommended that the number of field advisers be increased substantially and requested that the UNIDO Executive Director submit to the Secretary General a review of the status of the funding of industrial development field advisers indicating how these advisers should be financed from the regular UN budget. The resolution was approved by the Second Committee by a recorded vote of 108 to 7 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions and adopted in plenary session, on December 19, by a recorded vote of 123 to 8 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions. In explanation of vote in the Second Committee, the U.S., supported by the Federal Republic of Germany and Japan, reiterated the belief that SIDFA's should be financed through voluntary contributions, and not from the regular budget.

Other General Assembly Actions

On December 19, the General Assembly adopted without vote a resolution,^{16/} recommended by the Second Committee, that called for the Third General Conference of UNIDO to be held for a period of three weeks in January/February 1978, in New Delhi and accepted with appreciation the offer of the Indian Government to act as host.

Also upon recommendation of the Second Committee and without vote, the Assembly adopted three resolutions, one on December 15 and two on December 19, that (1) revised the lists of states eligible for membership in the IDB to include Djibouti and Vietnam;^{17/} (2) noted UNIDO's efforts in behalf of the least developed countries, and of special measures to be carried out in their favor;^{18/} and (3) endorsed the desirable funding level set by the IDB for the UN Industrial Fund at \$50 million per year.^{19/}

UN CONFERENCE ON TRADE AND DEVELOPMENT

UNCTAD is an organ of the General Assembly concerned with the trade and related economic problems of the developing countries. Since its establishment in 1964, UNCTAD sessions have convened every 4 years. The fourth session (UNCTAD IV) met in Nairobi, Kenya, May 5-31, 1976. The fifth session (UNCTAD V) will meet in Manila in 1979. Membership is open to any country that is a member of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, or the IAEA. At the end of 1977 UNCTAD had 156 members--the 149 members of the

^{15/} Resolution 32/165.

^{16/} Resolution 32/164.

^{17/} Resolution 32/108.

^{18/} Resolution 32/163.

^{19/} Resolution 32/166.

United Nations plus 7 other states that were members of specialized agencies.

UNCTAD has permanent machinery that functions between conference sessions. The senior body is the Trade and Development Board (TDB), which includes all member states of UNCTAD which decide to participate. The TDB held the first part of its 17th regular session in Geneva, August 23-September 2, and the first part of its ninth special session in Geneva, September 5-10, to prepare for a ministerial level TDB session in early 1978.

The TDB has seven committees, which are open to all UNCTAD members, plus a number of other subsidiary bodies. The seven committees are Commodities, Manufactures, Invisibles and Financing Related to Trade, Shipping, Preferences, Transfer of Technology, and Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries. The United States is a member of the TDB, of the seven committees, and, with a few exceptions, of the other subsidiary bodies.

Integrated Program for Commodities

International commodity policy remained a key issue in U.S. foreign economic relations in 1977, particularly with respect to relations with the developing countries. UNCTAD, as in 1976, was the principal forum in which the developing countries pressed their demands for international action on commodity trade problems, although the issue was also discussed in the Conference on International Economic Cooperation (CIEC).

The discussions which took place during the year were held within the framework of the Integrated Program for Commodities that had been set up by UNCTAD IV in 1976. The integrated program provides for technical preparatory meetings on 18 major commodities^{20/} of interest to the developing countries, with a view toward eventually negotiating international stabilization agreements for those products. It also calls for negotiations on a Common Fund to facilitate the financing of buffer stock operations provided for in such agreements. Preparatory talks were held on those commodities for which international agreements had not yet been established. In addition, negotiations on a new International Sugar Agreement were concluded successfully in October.

The United States took part in the UNCTAD preparatory meetings with the explicit understanding that their objective was to analyze the problems of individual commodity markets and to determine, without precommitments, whether international measures might be suitable. This was in accordance with the reservation which the United States had stated at the time of the adoption of the UNCTAD resolution in

^{20/} Coffee, cocoa, tea, sugar, cotton and cotton yarns, natural rubber, jute and jute products, hard fibers, copper, tin, bauxite, iron ore, manganese, phosphates, tropical timber, bananas, meat, and vegetable oils. The first 10 are regarded by UNCTAD as "core" commodities, for which buffer stock arrangements are held to be most suitable and needed. Agreements already exist for tin, coffee, cocoa, and sugar.

1976. U.S. policy toward the integrated program included insistence that any decisions to begin formal negotiations of specific international commodity agreements would have to be based on rigorous economic analyses, to be carried out in the course of the preparatory meetings.

U.S. policy stresses [the need for] trade expansion, adequate investment, reduction of excessive price fluctuations, and export earnings stabilization for developing countries. The approach preferred by the United States is to identify the fundamental causes of commodity market malfunctions and to examine the best means of dealing with each of them. No single solution applies to every case. In some markets, an international price stabilization agreement might be appropriate; in others, it might be more effective to address basic problems through policies and measures in existing institutions aimed at promoting investment, expanding markets, encouraging diversification into alternative products, and developing new end uses for existing production.

Common Fund Negotiating Conference

Two sessions of the UN Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund took place during 1977 (March 7-April 1; November 7-December 1). The United States agreed to participate in these negotiations without precommitments as to the final shape of a common funding arrangement. This position was reiterated in the final communique of the CIEC, in which the United States and other participants affirmed that a Common Fund should be established "with purposes, objectives, and other constituent elements to be further negotiated in UNCTAD."

The Negotiating Conference failed to resolve major differences separating the industrial and developing countries. The second session was suspended at the request of the developing countries when the developed countries declined to accept in advance certain key elements of the developing countries' proposal. That proposal envisioned the Common Fund as a major new global institution, in which developing countries would have substantial control, and which would have substantial financial assets of its own, beyond those of producer-consumer commodity agreements. Their version of the Fund would be empowered to intervene directly in markets and would also finance a wide range of developmental and other measures in addition to price-stabilizing buffer stock activities. This approach also entailed assessed mandatory contributions from governments to the capital structure of the Fund.

In contrast, the United States and other industrial countries tabled a proposal for a more limited Common Fund, which would be set up by pooling the financial resources of individual commodity stabilization agreements established by producers and consumers. The individual commodity agreements would retain sole authority for intervention in particular commodity markets. The purpose of the Fund, in this model, would be to facilitate the financing of buffer stock operations of the participating commodity agreements. Other measures (e.g., investment, diversification) would be handled through existing international financial institutions and programs. A considerable distance remained between these two approaches at year's end.

Sugar

Negotiations for the Third International Sugar Agreement, designed to stabilize world sugar prices, concluded in Geneva in October 1977. This was the first successful UNCTAD commodity negotiation since the end of UNCTAD IV. The United States took a leading role in negotiating the Agreement, which embodies a system of export quotas to defend a minimum world price of 11¢ per pound and a system of nationally held buffer stocks to defend a ceiling price of 21¢ per pound.

The United States provisionally agreed to the terms of the Agreement in December; advice and consent to ratification was to be sought from the Senate in 1978, as well as the implementing legislation necessary for full U.S. participation. The Agreement came into effect provisionally on January 1, 1978.

As a major producer and the world's largest importer of sugar, the United States has a significant interest in the success of the International Sugar Agreement. The erratic pattern of sugar prices over the last 3 years demonstrated the desirability of a stabilization agreement. In 1974, raw sugar prices reached a record high of 64¢ per pound, imposing a serious burden on U.S. consumers. In 1977, prices fell below 7¢, well below the cost of production in any country. Because of the large surplus of sugar on the world market, world sugar prices under the Agreement were not expected to reach the minimum price objective of 11¢ per pound until the second half of 1978.

Coffee

The International Coffee Agreement was negotiated between producing and consuming countries in 1975 and entered into force in October 1976, but its economic provisions remained in suspense throughout 1977 because the market price remained well above the trigger levels provided for market intervention in the Agreement. The Coffee Agreement was not negotiated under UNCTAD auspices.

Coffee prices peaked at record levels in 1977 under the continuing influence of the nearly complete depletion of world stocks brought about by crop disasters in several key producing countries in 1976 and persistent heavy world demand. Prices fell sharply after April, but stabilized toward the end of the year at relatively high levels. The existence of the Coffee Agreement has helped to stimulate investments in new coffee plantings. As new plantings begin producing and prices fall, the Agreement will eventually allocate export quotas among producers, in large part according to their historical export record and their proportion of world coffee stocks. The agreement does not entail provisions for buffer stocks, but the International Coffee Organization decided to begin a study on the feasibility of international stocking arrangements during 1978. The International Coffee Agreement is to last 6 years, until 1982.

Tin

During 1977, its first full year as a member of the International Tin Council, the United States assumed an active role in attempting to alleviate the chronic shortage which has characterized the tin market in recent years. Prices continued to rise precipitously during the year, without bringing any additional supplies on to the market. One of the reasons for this, according to U.S. Government analyses, was that exorbitantly high tax rates and other administrative restrictions in producing countries acted as disincentives to new investments. The United States worked with other consuming countries in the Tin Council to encourage the producers to ameliorate this situation.

The United States also announced that, subject to legislative authorization, it would voluntarily contribute up to 5,000 long tons to the Tin Council's International Tin Buffer Stock, in order to increase the size of the buffer stock and thereby enhance the ability of the Council to stem the price rise. The Administration submitted legislation to the Congress which would authorize the contribution from excess metal in the Strategic Stockpile administered by the General Services Administration. At the same time, the United States has resisted efforts by producing countries to secure large and frequent increases in the stabilization price range to be observed under the International Tin Agreement. The United States sought to ensure that any increases would be based on sound economic justifications.

Rubber

As one of the UNCTAD core commodities, natural rubber was the subject of two preparatory meetings and two expert-level sessions during 1977. The focus of the discussions and analysis was the problem of price volatility in the world market and possible measures to moderate that volatility.

In November 1976 the major producers, led by Malaysia, which produces almost half of the world's natural rubber, signed a price stabilization agreement which provided for a 100,000-metric-ton buffer stock, as well as export controls. The producers, however, indicated that they would prefer a producer-consumer agreement and that their own agreement would lapse if such an arrangement should emerge from the UNCTAD talks.

At the June UNCTAD meeting, the producers proposed a joint producer-consumer arrangement patterned on their own agreement, but relying on a larger buffer stock (400,000 metric tons). An Intergovernmental Task Force of experts met in October and December to study the feasibility of such an arrangement and report to a third preparatory meeting scheduled for early 1978 to decide on convening a negotiating conference for an international stabilization agreement.

U.S. analyses indicated that a buffer stock agreement for natural rubber might be feasible and could encourage increased investment. The latter effect would generate greater supplies in the mid-1980's, when most forecasts indicate the rubber market

will become very tight.

Copper

Copper holds a prominent position in the UNCTAD Integrated Program as the most important commodity for which there is no producer-consumer forum and for which no commodity arrangement exists. By value, it is the most heavily traded nonfuel mineral. Five UNCTAD copper meetings were held during 1977. Copper's most frequently cited problems, around which the UNCTAD discussions have revolved, are its price volatility and its cyclical behavior; i.e., overproduction and surplus followed by shortages.

The United States which is the world's largest producer and consumer of copper, played an active role in the UNCTAD discussions. U.S. imports grew in 1976-77 from 12% of consumption to roughly 20%. The U.S. industry was particularly concerned about unusually large world inventories of metal which tended to hold down already depressed prices.

The UNCTAD meetings concentrated on three themes: the feasibility of an international price stabilization agreement employing a buffer stock and possibly export or production controls; the establishment of a producer-consumer forum; and the possibility of "interim measures" to contribute to market stability pending the negotiation of a commodity agreement. The United States believed that making a commitment to negotiate specific stabilizing measures would be premature until economic analyses showed that such measures would be economically feasible, desirable, and negotiable. The U.S. goal in 1977 was to further the process of study and analysis, in order to establish the feasibility of particular arrangements for copper.

The United States also held that the establishment of a producer-consumer consultative body could contribute to stability in the copper market by providing a permanent forum for the exchange of information and views among interested governments and the promotion of solutions to international copper problems. Setting up such an entity would not necessarily rule out an eventual price stabilization agreement, since the work of the consultative body might enable producers and consumers to pinpoint specific measures which could form a workable agreement.

Debt

The issue of developing country debt problems continued to serve as one of the major topics of discussion in the North/South dialogue, with much of the action taking place under the auspices of UNCTAD. Two experts' meetings were held, as well as a Senior Officials' meeting. These sessions were limited to technical discussions on the debt issue and avoided negotiations of the various proposals.

The Group of 77 (the developing countries) continued to push for generalized debt relief, noting the extraordinary rise in their debt service payments, due to events beyond their control.

The major creditor countries maintained that the problem was one of development and was concentrated in a few countries, so generalized debt relief would not be an appropriate response. Furthermore, taking into consideration such factors as the growth of world output and trade as well as global inflation, the developed countries considered the figures on debt service were misleading, and a large portion of the increase was a result of oil price rises. The Senior Officials' meeting agreed on an agenda for the 1978 TDB ministerial meeting which included (1) a review of progress on debt pursuant to the UNCTAD IV resolution, (2) consideration of proposals tabled by the developing countries, and (3) the development and financial problems of the least developed and the developing landlocked and island countries.

Transfer of Technology

During 1977, an Intergovernmental Group of Experts convened under UNCTAD auspices for three 2-week meetings, to continue negotiations on an International Code of Conduct on the Transfer of Technology. The experts initiated their work in 1976 with a mandate from UNCTAD IV to complete a draft code for consideration by a negotiating conference. The conference would take all decisions necessary for the Code's adoption, including a decision on its legal nature.

The three sessions in 1977--the second, third and fourth of a six-part series--sought agreement on significantly different proposals advanced by each of three principal UNCTAD regional groups on various chapters of the Code. The main achievements of the experts sessions in 1977 included the elaboration of partial, bracketed composite texts in the following areas: preamble and principles and objectives (second session, March 28-April 5); definitions and scope of application, and restrictive business practices (third session, July 25-August 2); and special treatment for developing countries (fourth session, October 31-November 11). In addition, the experts continued less intensive discussions of international collaboration and national regulation, but failed to reach agreement. Two important areas of the proposed Code--responsibilities of enterprises and applicable law--were not considered in depth in 1977.

Overall, the Code of Conduct on Technology Transfer made only limited progress, generally on marginal issues, during 1977. This is so in large measure because much of the Code's subject matter involves privately-owned technology which developed country governments have only limited powers to regulate. Serious differences remain in every chapter of the proposed Code.

The United States believes that the outcome of negotiations on these issues may have a far-reaching impact on the current protection accorded industrial property, the way in which commercial technology is transferred, and, by implication, how enterprises generally deal with one another in other areas of international trade.

Shipping

At the third session of UNCTAD's Intergovernmental Preparatory Group on International Multimodal Transport, held January 10-28, most substantive discussion took place within four roughly geographical groups.^{21/} Group B, the group of western developed countries, achieved a degree of unity in several noncontroversial areas, but remained divided on the fundamental issue of the need for any convention on multimodal transport (MT). The United States was one of the states that doubted the need for such a convention. Two other substantive areas remained potentially divisive within Group B--future liability for the MT operator and the optionality of any convention. There also was division between Group B and the Group of 77 on several major substantive issues--mandatory application of a convention, inclusion of regulatory public law provisions, compatibility with the Code of Conduct for Liner Conferences, licensing of MT operators by national governments, and developing country control over all cargo insurance. The United States opposed all these concepts.

The major achievement of the session was the qualified endorsement by all Groups of the Chairman's paper setting forth a "common understanding" on the scope of a future Convention. The "common understanding" was prepared as a basis for future discussion when it became apparent that present discussions were reaching an impasse. The United States, however, expressed doubts about the effectiveness of the "common understanding."

The fourth session of the preparatory group (November 14-25) made almost no progress on substantive matters for a convention to address. No work was done on the private law elements that the United States believes are appropriate to any MT convention, but the subjects of customs, consultations, and general questions were referred to a working group for its consideration. The United States and other western states believed that customs matters were inappropriate for the proposed convention and reserved their positions. In the area of consultations, Group B supported the idea of consultations between shippers and carriers. In regard to general questions, all groups disagreed on the contents and preamble of any convention.

The eighth session of UNCTAD's Committee on Shipping, held April 12-22, resulted in five resolutions and three decisions acceptable to the United States and other Group B members. The primary focus of the session, however, was on the three topics which received particular emphasis in the session's opening speech by the Secretary General of UNCTAD: (1) speedy ratification and entry into force of the 1975 UNCTAD Code of Conduct for Liner Conferences; (2) examination of the economic consequences of open registry (i.e., flag of convenience) shipping, particularly regarding impacts on merchant fleets of the developing nations; and (3) the future role of UNCTAD in international transport questions.

The Code of Conduct--aimed at instituting an international

^{21/} Each member of UNCTAD is assigned to one of four groups on the basis of a combination of geographic and economic factors.

cargo-sharing regime reserving 40% of affected trades' traffic to fleets of each of the trading partners involved with the remaining 20% available to third-flag "cross-trade" carriers--is opposed in its present form by the United States and most Group B members, while the developing countries and some Group B states support it. Action on the question was confined to calls by the Group of 77 for ratification of the Code by those developed states which have not already done so. The Code continues to face an uncertain future since the signatories to date represent far too little merchant tonnage to bring the instrument into force.

No action was taken on the second topic because the UNCTAD Secretariat's report on convenience flag shipping was not available in time for governments to form positions or submit comments.

The third topic centered on the UNCTAD Secretariat's aspirations for the organization to become the "focal point" in the UN system for international transport matters, a move that the United States and some other western states opposed. In the maritime transport sector particularly, the United States believed that existing organizational machinery (e.g., IMCO) was more appropriate for the purpose.

Other noteworthy developments included election of Richard K. Bank of the United States as Vice Chairman of the Committee and the approval of the creation of a task force (to be funded with extra-budgetary, voluntary contributions) to assist developing countries with congestion and other port and transport logistical problems.

Insurance

UNCTAD's Committee on Invisibles and Financing Related to Trade held the first part of its eighth session in Geneva, December 5-9, to discuss insurance issues. The Committee adopted two resolutions by consensus on cooperative insurance and large risk insurance, respectively, and approved additions to the Secretariat's work program.

The resolution on cooperative insurance stated that it has a special role to play in the development process, recommended that developing countries initiate appropriate measures to establish insurance cooperatives based on sound insurance principles under governmental supervision, and called on multilateral and other aid institutions to respond to requests from developing countries for technical assistance in the promotion of cooperative insurance. The resolution on insurance of large risks called upon the developing countries to take all possible measures to strengthen their domestic insurance markets and to promote cooperation among their national insurance institutions, with the aim of pooling all technical knowledge, experience and capacity in underwriting large risks on a sound and adequate basis. The resolution also recommended that developed countries continue to assist developing countries in their efforts to provide coverage for their risks at the most economic and competitive rates and to provide expertise, reinsurance capacities and training facilities in underwriting and servicing large risks.

The UNCTAD Secretariat was asked to undertake the following studies: (1) an analysis of the insurance schemes through which developing countries could cover losses arising out of natural catastrophes; (2) insurance legislation and supervision in developing countries; and (3) the mechanisms by which developing countries could retain a larger volume of premiums emanating from insurance of large risks at national and regional levels. The Secretariat was also requested to try to determine on a quantitative basis the net outflow of foreign exchange due to the purchase by developing countries of insurance and reinsurance abroad.

Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries

The first session of UNCTAD's new Committee on Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries (ECDC) met in Geneva, May 2-9, and adopted by consensus a resolution which established a work program for the UNCTAD Secretariat. The resolution was the product of arduous negotiations which resolved a number of difficult issues, including UNCTAD's role in coordinating ECDC activities in the UN system. Group B and Group D (Soviet bloc) successfully resisted efforts of the Group of 77 to make the Secretary General of UNCTAD, rather than ECOSOC, the focal point for coordinating ECDC activities in the UN system.

The resolution as adopted requested the Secretary General of UNCTAD to consult and coordinate with relevant UN bodies in implementing the ECDC work program and welcomed arrangements made within the framework of the Administrative Committee on Coordination^{22/} to ensure appropriate inter-secretariat coordination in this field within the UN system.

As part of its ECDC work program, the UNCTAD Secretariat was asked to initiate studies relating to (1) a global scheme of trade preferences among developing countries; (2) cooperation among state trading organizations; and (3) establishment of multinational marketing enterprises. It was also asked to intensify its ongoing work and activities relating to the strengthening of subregional, regional, and interregional economic cooperation and integration, including the establishment of export credit and export credit guarantee schemes, insurance and reinsurance schemes, cooperation in the transfer and development of technology, the promotion and facilitation of capital flows among developing countries, the transit and transportation problems of developing landlocked and island countries, and the establishment of multinational production enterprises. The resolution also invited the Secretary General of UNCTAD to collaborate with relevant institutions to support studies on the strengthening and linking up of clearing and payments arrangements; Group B accepted this paragraph with the understanding that these studies would be carried out by the IMF.

The Group of 77 refused to include in the resolution language explicitly affirming that ECDC activities undertaken through UNCTAD be nonexclusionary and consistent with international obligations.

^{22/} The UN Secretary General and the executive heads of the specialized agencies and IAEA.

They asserted that these principles were fully understood, so there was no need to include them. As a compromise, the Committee Chairman noted in his concluding statement that the question of the equality of participation of all members in UNCTAD activities had been raised and it was felt that the TDB would be the proper forum for discussing this important question.

Manufactures

At the eighth session of the Committee on Manufactures, July 4-8, Yugoslavia as spokesman for the Group of 77, expressed the developing countries' disappointment with the lack of progress at the Multilateral Trade Negotiations (see p. 121), complained about the developed countries' import restrictions on products from developing countries, and called on the developed countries to grant the developing countries special and differential treatment in the trade negotiations. The U.S. Representative, Robert Brungart, speaking on behalf of Group B repeated the developed countries' intention to achieve in 1977 progress in key areas of the trade negotiations.

The Committee examined briefly draft resolutions on safeguards, subsidies and countervailing duties, and adjustment assistance, but deferred action until the Committee's next session. After reviewing a Secretariat proposal to establish an ad hoc group on industrial framework arrangements, the Committee urged the Secretariat to improve its coordination with the Secretariat of UNIDO and to report to the ninth session. (In industrial framework arrangements, developed countries provide technology, training, and capital to industries in developing countries and may undertake to facilitate the import of the goods produced by the developing countries' industries.) The Committee adopted by consensus a resolution establishing the schedule of the Ad Hoc Group on Restrictive Business Practices which had been instructed by UNCTAD IV to elaborate multilaterally agreed equitable principles and rules and a model law on restrictive business practices.

Preferences

The eighth session of the Special Committee on Preferences was held in Geneva, June 27-July 1. The meeting evoked much debate on the various schemes of the preference-giving countries, including how they had worked in the past and the possibility for improvement in the future. Preference-receiving countries outlined some of the problems they had had with the various programs, and donor countries mentioned how their schemes had operated so far. At the conclusion of the meeting, the Committee adopted by consensus a resolution requesting the UNCTAD Secretary General to propose possible changes in procedures for consultations concerning the various schemes and to report to a future session of the TDB.

Least Developed Countries

The principal thrust of U.S. policy with respect to countries designated by the United Nations as "least developed" has been to

implement major provisions, notably those calling for all-grant economic assistance and improvements in the machinery and delivery of external aid, of the UNCTAD IV resolution.

The all-grant policy was incorporated into the Foreign Assistance Act of 1978 in Sections 102(e) and 110(b). Section 102(e) states that development assistance is available to least developed countries on a grant basis for the purpose of promoting economic growth in the poorest countries to the maximum extent that is consistent with the attainment of U.S. development objectives. Section 110(b) exempts the least developed countries from the stipulation that disbursements under development assistance grant projects cannot exceed 36 consecutive months without justification to Congress.

Excluded from the all-grant policy is food aid, which is controlled by PL 480 legislation. However, recently enacted legislation provides for long-term (up to 5 years) agreements for PL 480 food assistance which could significantly affect the degree of concessionality. When the local currency proceeds of sales are used for agreed development purposes, this new law permits such uses to be counted toward repayment of the long-term dollar loans used to finance the sales from the U.S. For the least developed countries, many of the requirements for eligibility under this provision can be waived.

At an UNCTAD-sponsored meeting of multilateral and bilateral financial and technical assistance institutions with representatives of least developed countries, held in November 1977, there was general agreement on the need to increase aid flows, improve the countries' capacities to utilize aid effectively, and liberalize further the terms of external assistance. Further specific steps were to be negotiated in country-level meetings between host governments and external aid agencies.

General Assembly Consideration

The Second Committee of the 32nd General Assembly approved eight resolutions relating to UNCTAD which were subsequently adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session. In addition, a draft resolution on UNCTAD's mandate was introduced by the group of developing countries in the final week of the Assembly, but was withdrawn when the western industrialized countries and the U.S.S.R. protested that there was insufficient time to consider and take action on it.

In December the Group of 77 introduced a draft resolution which attributed the suspension of the UN Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund to the rigidity of "certain developed countries." The United States, regarding this text as inaccurate and accusatory, worked with other delegations to attempt to persuade the Group of 77 to withdraw the draft or, at a minimum, to accept a compromise text. However, the Group of 77 rejected compromise language drafted by the United States, Venezuela, Jamaica, and others, and the resolution was approved on December 16 by a vote of 102 to 0, with 13 abstentions (U.S.) in the Second Committee and adopted by the plenary Assembly on December 19 by a recorded vote of 127 to 0,

with 13 abstentions (U.S.).^{23/} The resolution called upon "countries which have not yet done so to take the necessary political decisions on such basic elements [of a Common Fund agreement] in order to enable the UN Negotiating Conference . . . to resume." In a statement after the vote in the Second Committee, the U.S. Representative said that the United States regarded the resolution as a serious setback since negotiations could not proceed if either side insisted on imposing predetermined formulas.

Another resolution, sponsored by the Group of 77 on debt problems of developing countries, called on the TDB at its ministerial session in 1978 to "reach satisfactory decisions" on generalized relief of the official debts of developing countries, reorganization of the system for debt renegotiations, and improved access by developing countries to international capital markets. The Second Committee approved the resolution on December 14 by a vote of 82 to 1 (U.S.), with 30 abstentions, and the Assembly adopted it on December 19 by a vote of 106 to 1 (U.S.), with 31 abstentions.^{24/} Following the vote in the Committee the United States affirmed its willingness to continue cooperating in multilateral efforts to alleviate serious debt servicing problems on a case-by-case basis, but said it could not agree with many parts of the resolution, including the references to the essential need for debt relief. In the U.S. view, the resolution distracted attention from many real development issues--such as quality and quantity of aid, technical assistance, and the basic human needs of the least developed countries.

A draft resolution on acceleration of the transfer of real resources to developing countries, introduced by Bangladesh, Ecuador, Indonesia, Jamaica, Kenya, Paraguay, and the Philippines, which called on developed countries: (1) to increase their official development assistance (ODA) on a more continuous and predictable basis through multiyear pledging of development assistance; (2) to meet the 0.7 percent of GNP target for ODA by 1980; and (3) to implement the recommendations of CIEC. After intensive negotiations with the cosponsors, a number of changes were made to bring the language of the resolution more in line with language accepted at CIEC. The final text approved by the Second Committee on December 12 by a vote of 105 (U.S.) to 0; with 9 abstentions and the Assembly adopted it on December 19 by a vote of 131 to 0, with 10 abstentions,^{25/} urged increased ODA "in accordance with methods to be determined by each developed donor country." Following the Committee vote, the United States reiterated that we do not accept the 0.7 percent ODA target and noted that the particular methods used to increase assistance are the prerogative of each developed country.

A resolution introduced by the G-77^{26/} and passed by consensus in the Second Committee on December 14 and the Assembly on December 19 requested the Secretary General of UNCTAD to convene a UN Conference on an International Code of Conduct on the Transfer of

^{23/} Resolution 32/193.

^{24/} Resolution 32/187.

Technology, October 16-November 10, 1978. In a Committee statement, the United States reserved its position on the question of setting specific dates for the UN Conference--expressing concern that without more extensive agreement and preparation on the basic issues at the expert level, such a conference might achieve only limited results and thus set back the prospects for achieving agreement on a code. The U.S., along with France and the Federal Republic of Germany, also reserved on a paragraph in the resolution which called for participation in the Conference of the UN Council for Namibia.

The G-77 introduced a resolution on economic cooperation among developing countries (ECDC), which was passed by consensus in the Second Committee on December 7, and the Assembly on December 19. The resolution²⁷/called for continued effective coordination of activities within the UN system in support of ECDC measures, and also urged UN organizations and the developed countries to support the implementation of these measures. In addition, the resolution urged UN bodies, in accordance with their established procedures and practices, to continue to provide necessary Secretariat support services and other suitable arrangements to facilitate the holding of meetings by developing countries on this subject. The United States made an interpretive statement in the Committee which noted that Secretariat support services should be limited to the provision of room and interpretation facilities at the headquarters of the UN body in question for meetings organized in connection with the activities of that UN body, and that these facilities are to be available to all members of the UN body in question.

A resolution²⁸/sponsored by 14 countries passed by consensus, in the Second Committee on December 14 and Assembly on December 19, urged developed countries and appropriate international organizations and financial institutions to increase the flow of financial and technical assistance, and to adopt specific measures in favor of the least developed countries. Another resolution²⁹/calling for specific actions relating to the particular needs of the landlocked developing countries was passed by a vote of 101 to 0, with 14 abstentions (U.S.) in the Second Committee on December 14 and a vote of 129 (U.S.) to 0, with 10 abstentions in the Assembly on December 19. Abstaining in the final vote were certain developing countries which were concerned about a paragraph in the resolution which reaffirms the right of free access to and from the sea of the developing landlocked countries. The United States and certain other countries changed their votes to "yes" in the Assembly after a phrase was deleted which would have called on the international community "to consider the possibility of according preferential

(Footnotes continued from p. 118).

²⁵/ Resolution 32/181.

²⁶/ Resolution 32/188.

²⁷/ Resolution 32/180.

²⁸/ Resolution 32/190.

²⁹/ Resolution 32/191.

treatment to the trade of landlocked developing countries."

In a resolution³⁰/passed by consensus on December 14 in the Second Committee and on December 19 in plenary, the General Assembly decided to convene the fifth session of UNCTAD in Manila, May 7-June 1, 1979, to be preceded by a meeting of senior officials, May 3-4.

A resolution on UNCTAD itself, which was introduced and subsequently withdrawn by the Group of 77 during the final week, called for UNCTAD to implement specific resolutions with which we have strong reservations and would have bestowed UNCTAD with responsibilities which would have been competitive with those of the UN Overview Committee that had been carefully negotiated earlier in the Assembly's 32nd session. The G-77 decided to withdraw the resolution in an effort to improve the atmosphere in the final days of the 32nd session after the controversial Common Fund resolution had been brought to a vote.

GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

The GATT became effective through a provisional protocol on January 1, 1948, with the objective of promoting world economic growth and higher standards of living through a reduction of barriers to international trade and the elimination of discriminatory treatment. In the ensuing 30 years, world trade expanded more than fourfold, and the GATT remains the principal multilateral instrument through which the United States is working to improve the world trading system. The United States has been a party to the GATT since its inception

The GATT consists of (1) a framework of general rules to promote trade relations among the contracting parties on a fair and equitable basis, (2) procedures for consultation and meetings of members to discuss policies and settle disputes; and (3) concessions agreed upon in trade negotiations in the form of schedules of tariff rates extended by individual contracting parties to other contracting parties. The most-favored-nation principle requires that each contracting party apply the rate negotiated with any one party to all other parties. The GATT contracting parties have established a variety of forums in which general and specific trade problems and disputes may be discussed.

The membership of the GATT remained at 83 states throughout 1977. Colombia, the Philippines, and Tunisia continued to maintain their provisional accessions, and 24 other states adhered to the GATT on a de facto basis.

While not an integral part of the UN system, the GATT Contracting Parties, acting as a collectivity, cooperates closely with UN organizations. For example, the GATT Contracting Parties and UNCTAD jointly direct an International Trade Center to assist developing countries in promoting their exports.

³⁰/ Resolution 32/189.

The GATT has provided the framework for seven multilateral rounds of tariff negotiations. The seventh, the most ambitious and far-reaching in its objectives, was officially launched with the unanimous adoption of the Tokyo Declaration in September 1973. This round differs from previous negotiations in that major emphasis is being placed on reduction of nontariff barriers to trade, and that special efforts are being made to benefit the less developed countries and to achieve freer trade in agricultural products. Previous rounds of trade negotiations had concentrated to a much greater degree on reduction of tariffs and had only limited success in dealing with agricultural trade problems.

In 1975 the negotiations moved from the preliminary procedural stage into the beginning of discussions of specific issues. Further progress was made in 1976, including the establishment of a group to consider improvement of the world trade framework and a group to study government procurement policies. Nevertheless, the negotiations were not moving at a pace which would envision early completion. In mid-1977 the major participants agreed on an ambitious timetable designed to accelerate the negotiations. By late 1977, requests for reductions in agricultural tariffs and nontariff measures affecting both industrial and agricultural producers had been put forward, and draft versions of codes or other proposals on rules governing nontariff measures had been drawn up for negotiating purposes. Initial offers on tariff and nontariff measures were to be made in early 1978, and the summer of 1978 was put forward as the target for political level decisions on the priority issues under negotiation.

While the major rounds of trade negotiations have liberalized international trade in several large steps, the role of the GATT in the functioning of the international trading system on a day-to-day basis has also been important. The regular Sessions of the Contracting Parties, generally held annually, are the highest forum of the GATT and, as such, decide upon the direction of the GATT's work. In addition, the GATT Council (which meets several times a year between Sessions), standing committees, and special working parties and panels afford the contracting parties other forums for debate of trade issues and mechanisms for the resolution of disputes.

Regular GATT activities in 1977 were concerned largely with emergency actions and other changes in trade policy measures taken by various contracting parties. These included measures both as specific products and on a broader level taken by Brazil, Canada, the EC, Finland, Greece, India, Israel, Italy, Japan, Portugal, South Africa, Yugoslavia, and the United States, and restrictions in effect for balance of payments reasons in Finland, Israel, Portugal, and Yugoslavia. Other items of general trade policy interest which were discussed included antidumping practices, various country tax practices which affect international trade, export inflation insurance schemes, regional trading arrangements, and trade practices of socialist members. In addition, renegotiations of tariffs took place due to specific changes by Austria, Finland, South Africa, and Sweden, and entire new schedules proposed by Brazil, Indonesia, and Pakistan.

The Consultative Group of 18,³¹/established on a trial basis in 1975 to monitor developments in trade policy and consult on current or potential conflicts, met once in 1977. Discussions took place on recent developments in trade policy and international trade; the international trading system and the role of the GATT; dispute management; trade measures taken for balance of payments purposes and the related subject of improved GATT/IMF coordination; and the question of world trade in agriculture. On the basis of these discussions, the Council decided to extend the life of the Group, with a reexamination at the end of the seventh round of multilateral trade negotiations.

TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS COMMISSION

The Commission on Transnational Corporations was established in December 1974 as a functional commission of ECOSOC. The Commission held its resumed second session on March 3, 1977, and its third session from April 25 to May 6 at UN Headquarters in New York. While only 29 member states were at the nonsubstantive resumed second session, all 48 Commission member states attended the third session, as well as 9 nonmember states and a number of international organizations who participated as observers.

The Commission noted with satisfaction progress made in two of its major priority areas: (1) the formulation of a code of conduct, and (2) the program of technical cooperation carried out by the Center on Transnational Corporations (a part of the UN Secretariat) aimed at strengthening the negotiating capacity of host countries, particularly developing countries, in their dealings with transnational corporations.

The intergovernmental working group of the whole established by the Commission to formulate a code of conduct, reported on the work of its first and second sessions held in January and April 1977. Although no formal drafting of the code's provisions took place at these sessions, the Group Chairman, Sten Niklasson (Sweden), did prepare on his own initiative an annotated outline of a code reflecting the various views expressed in the meetings. There was, however, considerable disagreement among working group representatives over the annotations. After some discussion of the substantive aspects of the annotated outline, the Commission instructed the working group to continue its work and report to the Commission at its fourth session. At the request of the developing countries the scheduled August-September 1977 meeting of the working group was postponed until 1978, and there was general recognition that the spring 1978 target date for a draft code would not be met.

The U.S. position regarding the nature and scope of the proposed Code of Conduct is that it must: (1) be voluntary; (2) be balanced in its references to responsibilities of governments as well as those of transnational corporations; (3) apply to all trans-

³¹/ Members in 1977 were Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Egypt, EC, Finland, India, Japan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Peru, Poland, Spain, Switzerland, United States and Zaire.

national corporations regardless of whether their ownership is private, state, or mixed; (4) treat transnational corporations in a nondiscriminatory fashion; (5) provide that transnationals be treated in accordance with international law; (6) uphold the right of home countries to intercede on behalf of their companies overseas; and (7) reaffirm the obligations of both enterprises and governments to respect contractual obligations freely undertaken.

With regard to the program of technical cooperation on matters related to transnational corporations, the Commission congratulated the Center on its progress toward fulfilling its work program and noted approvingly the close relationship the Center was developing with UNDP and the regional economic commissions. The United States and a number of other members urged that the Center give primary attention to building up the negotiating capacity of developing countries, but that it refrain from involving itself in the actual negotiation of specific agreements. It was stressed that the Center, as part of the UN Secretariat, must maintain its integrity as an unbiased neutral source of advice which can contribute toward improving understanding of transnational corporations.

The Commission also received a progress report from the group of experts considering international standards of accounting and reporting, and a progress report on the establishment of a comprehensive information system at the Center on Transnational Corporations. The United States and many other countries expressed concern that the group of experts exceeded its mandate by emphasizing reporting requirements over the problem of standardizing accounting procedures so that existing information would be comparable.

Although there was general agreement on the importance of the Center's work on a comprehensive information system, the United States and others took a firm stand on the Center's responsibility to respect business confidentiality. Given the mandate provided by the Commission in 1976, the United States and others argued that the Center's files on individual firms should be based only on publicly available information.

The Commission on Transnational Corporations also discussed the U.S. initiative on illicit payments and corrupt practices (see following section).

ILLICIT PAYMENTS AND CORRUPT PRACTICES

The question of dealing with corrupt practices, particularly illicit payments, in international commercial transactions was initiated in the framework of the overall question of transnational corporations, but later followed a separate track since the scope of the question includes activities of all types of enterprises and is more a trade than investment-related issue. The question was first raised at the 30th General Assembly in 1975, which adopted a resolution^{32/}calling on home and host governments to cooperate in preventing corrupt practices, including bribery, by transnational and other corporations, their intermediaries, and others involved;

^{32/} Resolution 3514.

asking governments to exchange information on the subject; and requesting ECOSOC to direct its Commission on Transnational Corporations to include the question of corrupt practices in its program of work.

Pursuant to that resolution, the United States, at the 1976 meetings of the Commission on Transnational corporations, called for an international agreement on corrupt practices. Inasmuch as the preparation of such an agreement would go beyond the Commission's mandate, the Commission recommended that ECOSOC establish a group of experts to elaborate a comprehensive draft. ECOSOC adopted this recommendation with some amendments at its 61st session and established an 18 member Ad Hoc Intergovernmental Working Group.

In two 1977 sessions (January-February and March-April which carried over to a resumed session in June) the working group made some progress on a draft accord, particularly on provisions dealing with criminalization and the exchange of information between governments for purposes of prosecution, although disagreement remained on parts of these provisions. Other texts proposed, but still unagreed, were one by Nigeria on payments to illegal minority regimes in southern Africa and one by the United States on reporting and/or disclosure of payments to intermediaries.

An illicit payments agreement, in the U.S. view, should include: (1) commitments by host or importing countries to establish and enforce traditional criminal laws prohibiting bribery of and extortion by their public officials; (2) commitments by home or exporting countries to establish and enforce laws prohibiting their enterprises from bribing foreign officials for the purpose of securing or retaining international commercial transactions; (3) judicial assistance and exchange of information between governments; (4) provisions respecting the regulation of agents, particularly recordkeeping of agents' fees for use in criminal investigations; and (5) uniform provisions for disclosure by enterprises, agents, and officials of political contributions, gifts, and payments made in connection with commercial transactions.

The United States has maintained in these discussions that the illicit payments problem is not limited to bribery by transnational corporations, but includes illicit payments by other enterprises as well. Extortion demands by government officials are another facet of the same problem. Although bribery is illegal in almost all countries, the United States has argued that international cooperation is necessary to make effective the enforcement of national laws.

U.S. initiatives on illicit payments lacked the broad support needed to complete an international agreement in 1977. Other developed countries showed little enthusiasm, and strongly opposed U.S. proposals for uniform disclosure rules relating to illicit transactions. The major objective of the developing countries was to link the illicit payments problem to discussions underway on a code of conduct for transnational corporations. While the United States agrees that a code of conduct relating to transnational enterprises is desirable and will continue to work toward such a code, it maintains that bribery poses a separate problem and that progress on this narrower issue will help rather than hinder the

code of conduct. To date, these negotiations have remained separate.

At the 63rd (summer 1977) session of ECOSOC, the United States sought to persuade the Council to schedule a conference in 1978 or 1979 to conclude an international agreement. Although this effort did not succeed, ECOSOC, without a vote, adopted a resolution^{33/} which called upon the Ad Hoc Intergovernmental Working Group to continue its work, expanded its membership to include all interested states, and directed it to complete a draft international agreement on illicit payments in 1978. Finally, the ECOSOC resolution recommended that the General Assembly decide, when it deemed appropriate, to convene a conference of plenipotentiaries to conclude the agreement.

POPULATION ACTIVITIES

The UN Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) was established in 1967 by the UN Secretary General as a special trust fund and was brought under the General Assembly's own authority in 1972. Since 1973, the Fund has operated with a separate identity under the guidance of ECOSOC and the overview of the UNDP Governing Council. The responsibilities of the Council extend to the financial and administrative policies relating to the work program, the fund-raising methods, and the annual budget of the Fund.

Support for the UNFPA is derived from the voluntary contributions of governments. During 1977, contributions paid or pledged were over \$91 million, compared to \$79 million in 1976. The U.S. contribution for 1977 was \$29 million, for 1976 it was \$20 million. A total of 51 states, more than half of them from the developing world, contributed to the Fund in 1977.

In 1977, program allocations approved by UNFPA totalled \$88 million for projects in over 100 countries. Approval was given to a second large-scale country agreement with the Government of Egypt, and it continued its support of the World Fertility Survey, as well as large-scale family planning projects in Colombia, El Salvador, Mexico, Nepal, and Thailand.

A mechanism for setting priorities for future allocation of resources was approved at the 24th session of the UNDP Governing Board. It consists of the designation of a group of developing countries as priority countries for UNFPA population assistance by applying one economic and four demographic indicators. At the same time it was decided to give special attention to meeting the needs of countries whose demographic indicators vary by 2% from the adopted threshold levels.

The shift of resources to priority countries will have to be a gradual process. It will be most significant in Africa, because that region contains the largest number of priority countries. Other developing countries will by no means be excluded from UNFPA assistance, but the amount of UNFPA support will be more limited and allocations more selective.

^{33/} Resolution 2122 (LXIII).

Parallel with designating priority countries, UNFPA has begun to identify the types of population activities which will in the future be supported in individual developing countries to promote the countries' self-reliance in population matters. This exercise consists of the assessment of minimum requirements or basic needs for each country. By the end of 1977, basic needs assessments were completed in nine developing countries and about 15 basic needs missions were planned for 1978.

The growing gap between requests by developing countries for population assistance and the resources available to the Fund continued to be a major concern of UNFPA. To deal with this problem, the Fund is concentrating on increasing the proportion of its resources devoted to individual country programs rather than to inter-country projects. In 1977, UNFPA began to elaborate a strategy for future support of intercountry projects.

In 1977 UNFPA began to develop and extend multilateral funding arrangements. Besides increasing resources for population activities, other important advantages were gained through working operationally more closely with bilateral donors. The total bilateral assistance committed under UNFPA multilateral arrangements by December 31, 1977, was \$6.5 million, of which some \$2 million had been estimated as spent.

In 1977 UNFPA collaborated with UNICEF in the preparation of the International Year of the Child; special attention was given to the UNDP efforts relating to rural development programs. UNFPA has participated fully in the preparation of the UN Conference on Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries to be held in 1978. Another UN effort supported by UNFPA is the development of measures benefitting the Sudano-Sahelian region through demographic data collection, migration studies, and other population programs. UNFPA has been actively involved in the follow-up action programs growing out of the Conference on Desertification held in 1977.

WORLD FOOD COUNCIL

The World Food Council was created by the UN General Assembly pursuant to a recommendation of the 1974 World Food Conference. The Council (1) reviews periodically at the ministerial or plenipotentiary level major problems and policy issues affecting the world food situation; and (2) makes recommendations to the UN system, regional organizations, and governments on appropriate steps by which to forge an integrated approach toward the solution of world food problems. The Council has 36 members.^{34/}

A preparatory meeting for the third session of the Council was

^{34/} Members in 1977 were Argentina, Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, Chad, Cuba, Egypt, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Guatemala, Hungary, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Malagasy Republic, Mauritania, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Rwanda, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, and Yugoslavia.

held in Rome, May 9-14, 1977, followed by the ministerial-level session in Manila, June 20-24. The Council at the beginning of its session elected Arturo R. Tanco, Jr., (Philippines) to a 2-year term as President. The Council discussed the following topics: increasing food production in developing countries, including the use of agricultural inputs; and international system of food security; food aid; food trade; and policies and programs to improve nutrition.

The Council, while encouraged by the current improvement in the world food supply situation, remained concerned by the lack of assurance that such improvement would continue and by the persistence of long-term problems, particularly among the poorest nations of the world. It recognized that systematic and concerted action would be required to meet these problems. Developing countries with severe food and nutrition problems should initiate and support their own programs to solve these problems, and developed countries, international organizations, and other countries in a position to do so should assist the initiatives of the developing countries through financial help, food, and technical assistance.

During the course of the ministerial session, a major address was delivered by the Secretary of Agriculture, Bob Bergland. His statement reaffirmed the willingness of the United States to assist in solving world food problems and outlined several recent initiatives in this regard, including steps to create a domestic grain reserve and efforts to increase the developmental impact and improve the effectiveness of food aid. The statement was widely commended and was regarded by many as having set a favorable tone for the meeting.

The most significant achievement of the third session was the preparation and approval of the 'Manila Communiqué of the World Food Council: A Program of Action to Eradicate Hunger and Malnutrition.' The communiqué contains 22 wide-ranging but relatively concise recommendations, among the most important of which were those urging (1) all countries to increase the level of resources devoted to agricultural development; (2) international organizations to assist poor food-importing countries in determining the resource and input requirements as well as policy constraints to be overcome in achieving a minimum 4% annual growth rate in agricultural production; (3) the conclusion of a new international grains arrangement by June 1978; (4) introduction of nutritional improvement as a major objective in national development plans; and (5) achievement of a target of 10 million tons of grain as food aid in 1977-78. The Communiqué was adopted by consensus.

On December 8 the 32nd UN General Assembly adopted without vote a resolution that had been sponsored in its Second Committee by 29 states, including the United States. The resolution,³⁵ inter alia, commended the World Food Council for its work and called upon all governments, specialized agencies, and other bodies within and outside the UN system dealing with food, agriculture, and human nutrition to implement the program of action contained in the Manila Communiqué.

³⁵ / Resolution 32/52.

SOCIAL ISSUES

DRUG ABUSE CONTROL

Working within the UN framework, the United States continued its efforts for a worldwide recognition of and attack on the problem of drug abuse.

Commission on Narcotic Drugs

The Commission held its 27th regularly scheduled biennial session in Geneva, February 7-25. Delegations represented the 30 member states,³⁶/28 observer states, 13 international organizations, and 9 private organizations. Commission members demonstrated increasing awareness of the international aspect of drug abuse. Turkey's Minister of Food, Agriculture, and Animal Husbandry described the increased drug traffic transiting his country. Dr. Peter Bourne, Special Assistant to the President, delivered a message from President Carter affirming the U.S. high priority concern for the curtailment of drug abuse and calling for increased international cooperation in narcotics control efforts.

The International Narcotics Control Board and the Canadian delegation presented the Commission with statistical projections indicating a worldwide supply of narcotic raw materials beyond that required for medical and scientific purposes. After examining the projections, the Commission recommended that all governments give strong consideration to preserving the equilibrium of the international opiate market. The Commission also decided to ask governments to provide the INCB with information which would enable it to prepare longer-range forecasts of the worldwide opiate supply and demand situation.

The Commission gave the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control an important boost by approving a U.S.-proposed resolution for adoption by ECOSOC recognizing that narcotic crop substitution projects and related income substitution projects can contribute to the economic development process. The resolution urged governments to incorporate crop substitution projects into national development plans and, at the same time, invited governments, UN bodies, specialized agencies, and international or multilateral financial institutions to give special attention to such projects. ECOSOC subsequently adopted the resolution on May 13, by a vote of 44 (U.S.) to 0, with 5

³⁶ / Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Colombia, Egypt, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Malagasy Republic, Mexico, Morocco, Pakistan, Romania, Sweden, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Yugoslavia.

abstentions.^{37/}

After discussing the implementation of the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances, which upon ratification by 40 governments entered into force on August 16, 1976, the Commission moved to include the salts of the substances listed in the schedules of the Convention under the same controls that apply to the substances themselves. This action was taken to correct an inadvertent omission when the Convention was adopted. The U.S. Representative announced that the Administration would work to secure U.S. ratification of the Convention. As of December 31, 1977, 48 countries had ratified the Convention (the United States had not).

Other significant actions taken by the Commission were: a recommendation that the Secretary General accord "above-average priority" to international drug control in his 1978-79 budget; a decision to urge additional governments to adopt the Psychotropic Convention; a request for governments to improve and expand programs designed to reduce the demand for dependence-producing drugs; and a request for governments to fulfill their treaty obligations by submitting annual reports to the Secretary General, or, when not so obligated, to submit information voluntarily in order to facilitate the Commission's evaluations of the worldwide drug situation.

ECOSOC

The 62nd ECOSOC session, meeting in May 1977, adopted four significant resolutions on the international control of narcotic drugs, in addition to the U.S.-initiated resolution described above.

One resolution, adopted on the recommendation of the Commission by a vote of 41 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions, invited the Secretary General to ensure that the various specialized UN bodies devote special attention to the drug situation in African countries, particularly those south of the Sahara.^{38/} Restriction of poppy cultivation was the subject of another resolution,^{39/} adopted by a vote of 45 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions. In a third resolution,^{40/} adopted by a vote of 45 (U.S.) to 0, with 5 abstentions, the Council recommended that the Secretary General publish a Division of Narcotic Drugs report concerning measures to reduce illicit demand for drugs. Another important resolution,^{41/} adopted without a vote, called for the allocation of adequate UN resources to the UN drug abuse agencies. In this resolution ECOSOC recommended that the Committee for Program and Coordination and the General Assembly insure that the necessary resources be allocated under the regular UN budget for international drug control. All of the above resolutions were adopted on May 13,

^{37/} Resolution 2066 (LXII).

^{38/} Resolution 2065 (LXII).

^{39/} Resolution 2067 (LXII).

^{40/} Resolution 2064 (LXII).

^{41/} Resolution 2081 (LXII).

1977.

General Assembly

The Third Committee of the 32nd General Assembly took up the problems of international drug abuse as part of its consideration of the report of ECOSOC and adopted three resolutions on the subject.

During the committee discussions, the U.S. Representative, Congressman Wolff, pointed out that the universal curse of drug abuse was an affliction that affected every man, woman, and child, regardless of age or social or economic condition. Saying that the enormous global drug problem required a set of global solutions, he introduced a draft resolution to this end that was sponsored by 16 states. The resolution, inter alia, invited the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control, WHO, and other appropriate agencies (1) to design models for prevention, treatment, and rehabilitation for the purpose of demonstrating the best techniques for assisting drug abusers, and (2) to study the feasibility of establishing treatment and rehabilitation centers to care for addicts and to train persons to use the best methodologies. The resolution was approved on December 8 by a vote of 106 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 16 by a recorded vote of 125 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions.^{42/}

The second draft resolution, sponsored by 11 states, was also introduced by the United States on December 7. The resolution, inter alia, (1) urged international and multilateral organizations which provide economic and social development aid to cooperate with the United Nations by providing financial support to countries that include programs to curtail illicit drug production in their requests for development funds, and (2) appealed to governments for sustained contributions to the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control. It was approved in committee on the same day by a vote of 115 (U.S.) to 0, with 14 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 16 by recorded vote of 125 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions^{43/}

The United States also supported the third resolution, introduced on December 7 by the Federal Republic of Germany and also sponsored by France, Thailand, and Sweden. Inter alia, it called on governments to ratify the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances, develop stronger law enforcement entities, and further promote international cooperation where drug abuse is concerned. This resolution was approved by the Committee on December 7 by a vote of 118 (U.S.) to 0, with 15 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly on December 16 by a recorded vote of 125 (U.S.) to 0, with 11 abstentions.^{44/}

^{42/} Resolution 32/124.

^{43/} Resolution 32/125.

^{44/} Resolution 32/126.

UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control

The Fund spent \$7 million during 1977 in support of 60 projects. Although several project proposals were disapproved for lack of funds, the financial situation has improved. Between January 1 and September 20, 1977, the Fund received pledges for \$11.2 million from 35 governments, of which the United States contributed \$4 million or 36%. As of September 30, the total UNFDAC pledges from its creation in 1971 amounted to \$34.1 million. The projected budget level for each of the years 1978 and 1979 is \$7.5 million. A budgetary highlight in late 1977 was Norway's pledge of \$5.5 million for the 1977-81 Burma program.

CRIME PREVENTION AND CONTROL

The United States has long supported the work of the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control (Crime Committee),⁴⁵ which helps plan for and reviews the results of the quinquennial UN Congresses on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. The 1975 Congress, held in Geneva, emphasized human rights in the administration of justice as a special topic. Much of its productive work is still before the UN member states for concentrated attention. The next Congress is scheduled to be held in Australia in 1980.

In 1977 the spring session of ECOSOC considered a report by the Crime Committee on its 1976 meeting and approved three draft resolutions for subsequent consideration by the 32nd General Assembly.

The Third Committee of the 32nd General Assembly considered the question of crime prevention and control at five meetings between November 3 and 16. Speaking on November 8, the U.S. Representative, Ruth Morgenthau, reaffirmed that "the U.S. Government strongly favors the evolution of international standards on human rights in the field of criminal justice." The United States approved in general the work of the Crime Committee, the Crime Congress, and the UN Secretariat--in response to the requests of the Committee and Congress--and supported further work in long-range international planning; international cooperation in crime prevention and control; and a continuing emphasis on the human rights aspects of the UN work in these fields, such as that which had led to the negotiation of a proposed Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials. Citing examples of increasingly important types of international crimes, Mrs. Morgenthau said:

"... The United States is eager to find effective measures to stamp out terrorism and hijacking; to control transnational 'white collar' crime, we favor prompt and vigorous international cooperation and full reporting by police and investigative authorities.

"It is clear that the United Nations work on crime is growing in complexity and scope. . . ."

⁴⁵/ An expert body of 15 members who serve in their personal capacities.

On November 16 the Third Committee without vote approved four draft resolutions which were subsequently adopted by the Assembly in plenary session, also without vote, on December 8. The first two were recommended by ECOSOC.

The first^{46/}invited members to sue the Crime Prevention Committee's report, as appropriate, in formulating national crime-prevention policies and strategies. It also called on states, international organizations and certain nongovernmental organizations to collaborate to achieve the goals of the report.

The second^{47/}resolution, on the Report of the Fifth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders requested the Secretary General to implement the conclusions of the Fifth UN Congress by circulating them, giving them publicity, offering advice to members, and facilitating the exchange of information and the elaboration of guidelines for the development and implementation of policies designed to make criminal justice systems more responsive to current social needs. These are necessary to ensure the strict observance of fundamental human rights and to promote a more rational, consistent and integrated approach to the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders. International cooperation in crime prevention and control was stressed throughout.

The third^{48/}resolution, introduced by the Ukrainian S.S.R. and sponsored by 17 states, modified the structure of the Crime Committee membership by deciding that members should be elected by ECOSOC for a term of four years, rather than by the former method of appointment by ECOSOC for a term of three years; the elections to take place on the basis of equitable geographical distribution with the aim of making the Committee more responsive to a wider range of geographical interests at the international level. A United States proposed amendment which was accepted by the cosponsors, serves to assure that continuity in the membership will be maintained by providing that half the members would be elected every two years so that the turnover would be staggered. It also endorsed a request from the Fifth Congress that the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control review the rules of procedure of the periodic Congresses and propose appropriate revisions to the 66th ECOSOC.

The fourth^{49/}resolution, concerned capital punishment. Since 1959, the Assembly has regularly adopted resolutions on this subject. It was introduced once again during the 32nd General Assembly by the delegation from Sweden and subsequently sponsored by Canada.

Expressing concern that only 32 governments had responded to the Secretary General's request for information on national practices and that there seemed to be little de facto demonstrable progress

^{46/} Resolution 32/58.

^{47/} Resolution 32/59.

^{48/} Resolution 32/60.

^{49/} Resolution 32/61.

toward restriction of the use of the death penalty, the resolution, inter alia, reaffirmed that the "main objective to be pursued in the field of capital punishment is that of progressively restricting the number of offenses for which the death penalty may be imposed with a view to the desirability of abolishing this punishment", and urged states to provide appropriate information and asked for renewed efforts against capital punishment by ECOSOC and by the Sixth UN Congress on Crime Prevention and Punishment and the Crime Prevention Committee.

At the time the resolution was approved in the Third Committee the U.S. pointed out that it could not endorse the abolition of capital punishment because under its federal system the individual states could enact such legislation. However, it favored restricting the number of offenses to which capital punishment should apply, as well as such safeguards as due process, nondiscrimination and consideration of the individual character of the offender. This enabled the U.S. to go along with the consensus on the resolution on capital punishment.

As to the overall UN effort on crime prevention and control, the U.S. associated itself with the statement of the Belgian representatives. The latter had expressed great appreciation for the way in which the Commission for Social Development and the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control had dealt with the problems relating to item 77. The latter, in particular, had clearly demonstrated the efficiency with which a group of duly recognized experts from all regions of the world could function, as could be seen from its reports and the draft code of conduct which it had prepared for law enforcement officials.

The plenary Assembly, on December 8, decided without a vote to ask the Secretary General to transmit the Draft Code of Conduct to all governments for their comments. The Code is scheduled to be discussed again at the 33rd session^{50/}

DISASTER RELIEF

During 1977 the UN Disaster Relief Office (UNDRO) provided assistance and helped coordinate relief efforts in instances of disaster that included floods in Bolivia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Peru, St. Vincent, Somalia, and Upper Volta; earthquakes in Indonesia and Romania; drought in Haiti; epidemics in Somalia and Turkey; and cyclones in India, Madagascar, Mozambique, Oman, and Tonga.

As important as UNDRO's relief activities were, its efforts to place increasing emphasis on pre-disaster planning were, potentially, of even greater significance. Disasters cannot be predicted as occurring at precise places and times. However, there is a range of events, and places wherein they are likely to occur, that can be foreseen with reasonable accuracy. Advance preparation for dealing with these events can lessen the adverse consequences of disasters, when they strike, and can save both human lives and property. UNDRO promoted such pre-disaster planning in 1977 through

^{50/} Decision 32/49.

special missions and other programs involving Bangladesh, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Honduras, Madagascar, Nepal, Nicaragua, Romania, Somalia, and Upper Volta.

UNDRO also took steps in 1977 to strengthen further the financial base for its operations. Arrangements were concluded to transfer to the UN regular budget, as of the 1978-1979 biennium, approximately 34% of the administrative costs of UNDRO that previously had been met by voluntary contributions, the program costs to continue to be financed by voluntary contributions. This transfer will permit UNDRO to devote an increased share of its voluntary income to promoting pre-disaster planning and improving its disaster coordinating role.

In regard to coordination, some of UNDRO's most important activity in 1977 related to agreements concluded with other agencies in the UN system. Memoranda of understanding now exist between UNDRO and UNICEF, the World Food Program, FAO, IAEA, UNIDO, ILO, the WMO, and IMCO. Each of these memoranda defines the fields of competence to be recognized in the event of disaster by UNDRO and the respective agency involved. Through these arrangements it should prove possible in the future to avoid waste of resources and unnecessary delay that have sometimes arisen in the past because of overlapping areas of responsibility among the UN agencies.

The United States remains a principal supporter of the UNDRO voluntary fund, having contributed \$500,000 (in two \$250,000 payments) during the 1976-1977 biennium. Only the Netherlands contributed more (\$602,000); Sweden, the U.K., Norway, and Belgium were also major contributors, providing \$475,000, \$200,000, \$153,000, and \$112,000 respectively.

UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR REFUGEES

The Office of the High Commissioner^{51/} was organized in 1951 and has as its primary function the responsibility for providing international legal protection to refugees. Its secondary function is to promote permanent solutions for refugee problems, mainly through resettlement programs, and to provide for interim and emergency care for refugees in places of temporary asylum. These responsibilities are carried out on behalf of refugees falling within the scope of the Statute of the Office adopted by the General Assembly in 1950.^{52/} From time to time, the UNHCR undertakes special activities outside his mandate at the request of the Secretary General, often on behalf of persons dislocated within their own country as a consequence of manmade disasters.

^{51/} Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan (Iran) was the High Commissioner for Refugees from 1966 through 1977.

^{52/} In general, those persons who are outside their country of nationality because they have well-founded fear of persecution by reason of race, religion, nationality, or political opinion and, because of such fear, are unable or unwilling to avail themselves of the protection of the Government of that country.

An Executive Committee of 31 states⁵³/meets annually in Geneva to review the work of the UNHCR and to approve his annual regular budget. At this meeting the UNHCR also advises the Executive Committee of his special activities. The U.S. Representative at the 28th session, held October 4-12, 1977, was Patricia M. Derian, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs.

International Legal Protection

The basic legal implements for protection are the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, which is restricted to persons who become refugees as a result of events occurring before 1951, and the 1967 Protocol which removes the time limit on eligibility. By the end of 1977, 70 states were parties to one or both of the treaties. The United States is a party to the Protocol. However, a large geographic area of the world--most of Eastern Europe and mainland Asia--subscribes to neither. States acceding to these international treaties accept provisions explicitly prohibiting the return of a refugee, in any manner whatsoever, to any country in which his or her life or freedom would be threatened on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion. At the same time, however, the refugee has obligations to the country in which he finds himself and is required to conform to its laws and regulations as well as to measures taken for the maintenance of public order.

The International protection of refugees includes ensuring that they are granted political asylum and that those who wish to do so voluntarily are returned to their country of origin without penalty for having fled. To facilitate the reestablishment of refugees around the world, UNHCR is also concerned with protecting the refugees' right to work, to practice their religion, and to receive social benefits under the law. In 1977 the task of providing legal protection to refugees increased in intensity as thousands more fled from their countries of origin in Indochina and other refugees in Africa and Latin America found their situations more perilous.

During 1977 there were two events involving international legal protection which were of potential significance. The first was a conference of 94 nations which met in Geneva from January 10 to February 4 to draft a convention on territorial asylum. Although the conference failed to produce an agreed text, it recommended that the UN General Assembly consider convening a further session of the Conference at an appropriate time. The second event was the first meeting of the UNHCR Executive Committee's Subcommittee of the Whole on International Legal Protection. Meeting just before the 28th Executive Committee, the subcommittee reviewed UNHCR activities in this field and brought into sharper focus the need

⁵³/ Algeria, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, China, Colombia, Denmark, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Holy See, Iran, Israel, Italy, Legation, Malagasy Republic, Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

for more comprehensive discussion of this priority function of the UNHCR.

Material Assistance Program

The UNHCR program of providing temporary material assistance to refugees began in 1955. During 1977 the UNHCR reorganized its various material assistance programs into two broad categories: General Programs and Special Programs. The former include activities hitherto covered by the annual program and the Emergency Fund; the latter include all special operations and programs financed from trust funds, including a special education account.

General Programs

A substantial part of the UNHCR General Program was again devoted to assisting refugees in Africa where the number in need approached 1.2 million persons. Major projects were carried out in 19 African countries, with substantial assistance going to refugees from southern Africa located in Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland.

In Latin America the number of refugees at the beginning of 1977 exceeded 110,000, most of whom were of European origin, while about 30,000 were of Latin American origin. By mid-1977, approximately 300 per month were being assisted in resettling abroad, mostly in European countries.

Throughout 1977 the UNHCR also continued to assist refugees in Europe, the Middle East, and East Asia. The refugee problem in Europe remained at an approximate level of 560,000, and included refugees from Latin America and Southeast Asia, as well as from Eastern Europe. The UNHCR also contributed toward meeting the diversified needs of persons from the former Portuguese territories in Africa.

Special Programs

UNHCR Special Programs in 1977 required three times the financial resources of the Regular Programs, and many were ongoing activities initiated in prior years. The Special Programs included humanitarian assistance in Cyprus and Angola, aid to returning refugees and displaced persons in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, special action in Lebanon, aid to refugees and displaced persons in the various countries of Southeast Asia, and educational assistance to refugees from southern Africa. Three of the most important programs concerned refugees from Indochina and displaced persons in Angola and Cyprus.

The High Commissioner had several tasks relating to Indochinese refugees. For those who fled overland, the program of providing interim care in the camps in Thailand continued and increased as the number in camps rose to over 90,000 by the end of 1977. In addition, there was an increase in the number of refugees who fled by small boats to Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, Hong Kong,

the Republic of China, Japan, and even as far away as Australia. Rescue at sea of refugees in boats, often leaking, became a major concern, because many merchant ships ignored their international responsibilities on the grounds that some nations were reluctant to permit the refugees to land. Securing areas of first asylum became more complicated throughout 1977. At the same time the UNHCR intensified his efforts to find permanent resettlement opportunities so that asylum countries, relieved of the burden of maintaining refugees for prolonged periods, would be more receptive to temporary stays while permanent homes were sought. During the year over 35,000 Indochinese refugees were resettled, mainly in the United States, France, Australia, and Canada.

Nearly a half of all material assistance funds expended in Africa went for the Special Program in Angola. Begun late in 1976, the program was designed to assist the resettlement and rehabilitation of some 1 million uprooted persons, including both returning Angolan refugees and persons displaced within the country. The program included assistance in the fields of health, food supplies, agriculture, transport, and education.

At the request of the Secretary General, the High Commissioner continued throughout 1977 as Coordinator of UN humanitarian assistance in Cyprus, a program that began in 1974. Although the general situation improved during the year, there were still over 200,000 Cypriots displaced within the country at the end of the year. In addition to ensuring an adequate basic nutritional diet for the displaced persons, the UNHCR assistance program concentrated on the provision of temporary accommodations, health centers and equipment, community centers, and facilities for children. Funds were also made available for basic agricultural and reforestation projects, medicine and medical equipment, educational materials, insecticides, and pesticides.

Finances

In general, the administrative expenses of the UNHCR are funded through the regular UN budget, while the programs are funded by voluntary contributions. At its 28th session the Executive Committee approved a revised 1977 target for the General Program of \$24.3 million; the target for Special Programs, \$75.9 million.

The United States contributed \$1.4 million to the General Program in 1977 and \$34.7 million to Special Programs. The latter included \$10 million for refugees from Indochina, \$17.5 million for displaced persons in Cyprus, and \$6 million for refugees from southern Africa. An additional \$1 million was contributed for refugees in other parts of Africa.

For 1978 the UNHCR has a target of \$35.2 million for the General Program and \$37 million for Special Programs.

General Assembly Consideration

The Third Committee of the 32nd General Assembly considered the annual report of the UNHCR from November 14 to 16.

In the course of the debate a number of states referred to the question of a draft convention on territorial asylum. The statements made it clear that the conference to draft such a convention should be reconvened, but only after careful and detailed preparation. Noting that the UNHCR was consulting with governments in this regard, the Chairman summed up the Third Committee's view by requesting the High Commissioner to keep the Secretary General informed of the progress in these consultations so that the Assembly at its 33rd session might have the information necessary to decide on the appropriate time to reconvene the conference.

Four draft resolutions, each sponsored by from 45 to 67 states, were introduced and approved by consensus on November 16. All four were subsequently adopted by the General Assembly without vote on December 8.

The first resolution requested the High Commissioner to continue providing humanitarian assistance to refugees and displaced persons; requested UN agencies and programs to support him in his tasks; and urged governments to cooperate in promoting solutions to refugee problems, to facilitate the High Commissioner's efforts in the field of international protection, and to contribute generously toward financing his activities.^{54/}

The second resolution decided to continue the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees for a further period of 5 years from January 1, 1979.^{55/}

The third resolution, noting with deep regret that the High Commissioner was relinquishing his duties,^{56/} expressed the Assembly's sincere appreciation and thanks to Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan for the effective and dedicated manner in which he had performed his functions as the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and wished him success in his future undertakings.^{57/}

The fourth resolution, focusing especially on the refugee situation in southern Africa, requested the UNHCR to strengthen his programs for the benefit of such refugees; urged governments to contribute generously to these programs; requested other UN agencies, nongovernmental organizations, and voluntary agencies to support these efforts; and requested the High Commissioner to continue cooperating with the OAU.^{58/}

^{54/} Resolution 32/67.

^{55/} Resolution 32/68.

^{56/} On November 8 the Secretary General announced that he had accepted the request of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan to be released from his responsibilities as UNHCR at the end of the year. He further announced that he would appoint Sadruddin Aga Khan as a special consultant so that he would remain available for missions related to UN activities.

^{57/} Resolution 32/69.

^{58/} Resolution 32/70.

On December 8 the General Assembly in plenary session, at the suggestion of the Secretary General, decided without vote to elect Poul Hartling, former Prime Minister of Denmark, as UN High Commissioner for Refugees for a 5-year term beginning January 1, 1978.

UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND

Better known by its acronym of UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund has cared for children since its creation in 1946 with an original mission of providing emergency relief following World War II. More than 30 years later, it is today devoted to the long-range development and well-being of children in more than 100 developing countries. Headquartered in New York, UNICEF is headed by an Executive Director, Henry R. Labouisse (U.S.), and a policy-making Executive Board composed of 30 states⁵⁹/one-third of which is elected each year by ECOSOC. The Board approves UNICEF's programs, examines policy questions with respect to the improvement of children's lot in the world, and reviews UNICEF's budget. The Board meets at least once annually and in 1977 held its session in Manila from May 23 to June 3.

Program Commitments

The Executive Board reviewed and approved program commitments for the next several years totalling \$129.4 million. Program aid itself accounted for \$113.2 million, while the balance of \$16.2 million was for administrative services. In addition, the Board "noted" \$65.9 million worth of projects which it considered worthy of support, if any nation desired to come forward with special assistance contributions.

From a geographic standpoint, \$38.9 million in new commitments were to Africa; \$36.2 million to East Asia and Pakistan; \$8 million for South Central Asia; \$10.9 million for the Eastern Mediterranean; \$8.4 million for the Americas; and \$10.9 million for interregional projects. The program support budget for these amounted to \$26.5 million.

In 1977 UNICEF assistance went to projects in 113 countries. Total expenditures for the year came to \$142 million (including funds-in-trust). Of this, some \$106 million went directly to programs, of which 55.5% was for maternal and child health, 21.9% for education, 8.3% for child nutrition, 6.6% for country planning and project preparation, 6.6% for social welfare services, and 1% for emergency relief. Program support services amounted to \$21.9 million, and administrative services came to \$13.8 million.

⁵⁹ / The members in 1977 were Benin, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Morocco, Netherlands, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Uganda, U.S.S.R., U.K., United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, United States and Yugoslavia.

At the annual pledging conference for UNICEF, held in New York on November 3, 1977, the United States pledged \$25 million for 1978, an increase of 25 percent over 1977. In doing so, the U.S. Representative, Herbert G. Wing, expressed the hope that the substantial increase in the U.S. pledge would encourage other nations to do likewise, and stated that the pledge reflected the need to redouble world efforts to tackle the immense problems confronting children, especially in the light of growing populations and high inflation rates.

International Year of the Child

The 31st UN General Assembly proclaimed 1979 as the International Year of the Child (IYC)⁶⁰/with the objectives of: (1) providing a framework for advocacy on behalf of children and for enhancing the awareness of the special needs of children on the part of decision-makers and the public; and (2) promoting recognition of the fact that programs for children should be an integral part of economic and social development plans, with a view to achieving, in both the long-term and the short-term, sustained activities for the benefit of children at the national and international levels. UNICEF was designated as the lead agency of the UN system for the Year, and the Executive Director of UNICEF was requested to report through ECOSOC to the 32nd General Assembly on progress in preparing for the IYC.

The Executive Director of UNICEF, Henry R. Labouisse, wrote on February 16, 1977, to the Secretary of State to urge U.S. participation in the IYC, to suggest the formation of a National Commission, and to urge that the President take an interest. The Departments of State and of Health, Education, and Welfare formed an inter-agency committee to coordinate the activities of the Federal Government relative to the IYC and to oversee the preparations necessary for the creation, by the President, of a National Commission.

In response to an appeal by UNICEF for funds with which to operate the separate IYC Secretariat established to coordinate international activities connected with the IYC, the United States contributed \$250,000 for 1977.

The Executive Director of UNICEF reported to the 63rd Session of ECOSOC on the preparations already underway for the IYC and noted that the Executive Board of UNICEF had voted \$3 million from general resources to assist developing countries in their preparations for the Year. He reported that a budget of \$4.2 million was contemplated for the IYC Secretariat to function from 1977 to its windup in 1980. The 63rd Session of ECOSOC appealed to governments for pledges and recommended that the General Assembly at its 33rd Session in 1978 and 34th Session in 1979 hold special discussions on the IYC.

On December 15, the 32nd General Assembly adopted without vote

⁶⁰/ Resolution 31/169.

a resolution,⁶¹/recommended by its Second Committee, which commended the preparatory work of UNICEF for the IYC, reaffirmed that the major focus of the Year should be at the national level, decided to further the preparations at its 33rd Session and to hold a special debate on the IYC in plenary at its 34th Session, and expressed the hope that Governments, nongovernmental organizations, and the public would respond generously with contributions to attain the objectives of the year.

Administrative Matters

During two days of the Executive Board's annual meeting, the Committee on Administration and Finance (of which the United States is one of 18 members) met to review the financial reports for previous years and the 3-year financial plan for 1977-1979. The Committee approved the separate administrative services and program support budgets for 1978, as well as the budget for the Greeting Card Operation. In order that no delay should be experienced in getting the IYC underway, the Executive Director was authorized to finance the operation of the IYC Secretariat out of regular funds to be repaid from funds received as contributions to the IYC Secretariat. The Committee also reviewed the progress made by management in implementing the recommendations contained in the 1974 management survey by the Scandinavian Institutes for Administrative Research; it felt considerable progress had been made. It was noted with pleasure that a start had been made in the application of zero-base budgeting to the 1978 budget estimates.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

The ECOSOC Commission for Social Development, a 32-nation⁶²/functional commission, held its 25th session in Geneva, Switzerland, January 17 to February 4, 1977.

The session had before it a broad range of topics which included social and institutional reform as a means of increasing food production; problems of the aged--youth--and migrant workers; the report of the Committee on Crime Prevention and Control; review and appraisal of the International Development Strategy (IDS); and a major initiative, sponsored by the United States, which called for a working group to study the future role and direction of social development in the UN system. The lengthy list of items meant the Commission was not always able to discuss the problems in depth. The work of the Commission was carried on with a marked degree of cooperation on the part of the participants, and all thirteen resolutions adopted were by consensus.

⁶¹/ Resolution 32/109.

⁶²/ Members in 1977 were Chile, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, France, Gabon, Grenada, Guinea, Hungary, Indonesia, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Netherlands, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Sierra Leone, Turkey, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Zaire.

Program Objectives for the Medium-Term Plan 1978-81: Report for 1975-76

Under this item the U.S. Delegation sponsored a major initiative which called for the establishment of an expert working group to study the future role and direction of social development in the UN system. No real study of social development had been made since 1956, and it was felt that social development was being relegated to a minor role, contrary to the real needs of countries. It was also felt that the current organization of the UN Secretariat units involved in social development activities contributed to a fragmented approach to social problems.

Some delegations expressed concern that in agreeing to the establishment of a working group the Commission was abrogating part of its own function, and that the report of the group should be initially reviewed by the Commission then forwarded to ECOSOC and the General Assembly. As the Commission was not scheduled to meet again until 1979, it decided that the findings of the working group should be submitted to members for comments and that the report, together with the comments, should be submitted to the resumed 63rd session of ECOSOC.

The Commission proposed a resolution, cosponsored by the United States, entitled "Reinforcing the Social Development Sector within the United Nations." The resolution was adopted without a vote, but the representatives of Mexico and Poland indicated that had there been a vote, they would have abstained.

The 62nd ECOSOC on May 13, 1977, adopted a modification of the Commission's resolution which recommended the appointment of a group of 10 experts to conduct the study, bearing in mind the work of restructuring under way in the UN system. The resolution 63/ called for recommendations for improvement with regard to: (1) operational effectiveness of social development activities in the United Nations; (2) effectiveness of current UN coordination machinery; (3) future role of social development.

At its 63rd Session, on August 4, 1977, the Council decided that ECOSOC's resolution should not be put into effect until such time as the Council had reviewed the implications of the resolution in the light of the outcome of the work on restructuring the economic and social sectors of the UN system. (See p. 302)

Social and Institutional Reform as a Means of Increasing Domestic Food Productions and Distributing it Equitably Among the Population

The delegations unanimously commended the Joint Report by FAO, ILO, and IBRD on social and institutional reform as a means of increasing food production and its equitable distribution, which had been requested by the Commission at its 24th session. The Commission approved a draft resolution by consensus which endorsed

the report and sought to stimulate further exchanges of views and information within the UN system. ECOSOC adopted the resolution^{64/} on May 13, 1977, without a vote.

The Aged

The Commission on Social Development reviewed the ILO Report on Social Security as well as a Progress Report on the Implementation of the resolution of the 28th General Assembly on the question of the elderly and the aged.^{65/} In reviewing American developments, the United States stressed the active role of the aging in community and national life and urged well-designed, cross-national studies and technical cooperation. The United Kingdom, Japan, Mexico, and the U.S.S.R. expanded on program services and the importance of home care. Japan gave dramatic statistics which indicate that by the year 2000, over half the Japanese population would be 60 years of age.

The Commission concluded the debate by a consensus adoption of a draft resolution which endorsed the UN report and urged expansion and development of the UN program in aging in the areas of research and training. ECOSOC at its 62nd session approved the Progress Report.

At the 32nd session of the General Assembly the United States introduced in the Third Committee a draft resolution which called for the Secretary General to ascertain the views of the membership on the desirability of holding an International Year on Aging and a World Assembly. On the recommendation of the Third Committee, the resolution ^{66/}was adopted without a vote on December 16, 1977, and called for the Secretary General to report to the 33rd Assembly. Speaking in support of the resolution, Congressman Whalen, declared that:

"... We need to move ahead beyond the periodic submission of the reports and to focus world attention on the elderly and the aged....We cannot, we must not ignore them or their problems. They deserve well from us, and we should....not wait until their numbers and difficulties become acute."

^{64/} Resolution 2073 (LXII).

^{65/} Resolution 3137 (XXVIII).

^{66/} Resolution 32/132.

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, AND RESEARCH

UN ENVIRONMENT PROGRAM

In response to a recommendation by the Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, June 1972, and pursuant to a General Assembly resolution of December, 1972, the UNEP was established January 1, 1973, in Nairobi, Kenya, to provide a focal point in the United Nations system for dealing with global environmental problems. It is primarily a catalytic and coordinating program, utilizing its Environment Fund to provide seed money to launch or to support programs designed to fill gaps or improve performance in environmental programs carried out mostly by other elements of the UN system. The United States has attached particular importance to UNEP's promotion of the Global Environmental Monitoring System; the developing of an International Register of Potentially Toxic Chemicals; regional seas programs, providing a coordinated and comprehensive attack on marine pollution problems; and the development of international conservation agreements. A 58-member Governing Council⁶⁷/provides policy and general guidance to the program.

The year 1977 marked the final year of the first five-year period of this new program and thus was a year of review of accomplishments and planning for the future.

The Governing Council met for its fifth session from May 9 through May 25, 1977 at UNEP headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya. The meeting was attended by delegations and observers from 70 member countries of the UN, representatives of UN agencies, regional commissions, and other organizations.

In his opening statement to the Council, Executive Director Tolba, completing his first year of the four-year term to which he had been elected by the 31st General Assembly, noted that five years had passed since Stockholm and that UNEP was thus entering the second half of its first decade. He noted that UNEP's role had not always been wholly understood in its developing years, a major reason being the uniqueness of the concept underlying the UNEP. "We have a very broad mandate", he said, "it touches every sector, but we are meant to be catalytic, not operational, and it is not easy to measure the outputs of a non-operational program." However,

⁶⁷/ Members in 1977 were Argentina, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Central African Empire, Chad, China, Colombia, Cyprus, Egypt, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatamala, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan, Kenya, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Switzerland, Syria, Thailand, Togo, Uganda, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, and Zaire.

he expressed his satisfaction that the UN General Assembly had determined that the institutional arrangements for international cooperation on environmental issues as set out in UNEP's founding resolution remained sound, and had furthermore recognized that environmental considerations should be taken into account in any reorganization of the UN. The Executive Director concluded that UNEP was thus on the right track, but that much remained to be done if the program was to meet the aspirations expressed at the Stockholm Conference.

He then proposed 21 goals which he felt the program should meet by 1982 when UNEP would complete its first decade. Among the most important of these goals are: an operational Global Environmental Monitoring System (GEMS); an International Referral System (IRS) fully utilized by member states and particularly the developing countries; an operational International Register of Potentially Toxic Chemicals (IRPTC) able to issue warnings and publish technical materials. Other goals dealt with various aspects of conservation, economic development in consonance with economic considerations; and environmental education. The Governing Council approved the Executive Director's goals as part of its decision on program policy and implementation, the overall effect of which was a general endorsement and continuation of UNEP's activities along the lines of the priorities decided by the Council at its first session in 1973 and refined in subsequent annual sessions.

The Governing Council reached a number of other decisions, including (1) a request that the Executive Director prepare a regional conference of all African states concerned with pollution of the Gulf of Guinea; (2) authorization to the Executive Director to assist in the formulation of regional seas program for the area shared by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand; (3) a request to the Executive Director to "call on the International Whaling Commission . . . to agree on the dates for the planned conference concerning new arrangements for the effective conservation of all cetaceans"--this was a U.S. initiative; and (4) a request to the Executive Director to take steps in cooperation with UNESCO and other UN bodies for the promotion of environmental education within the guidelines agreed at the intergovernmental conference on environmental education held under UNESCO auspices at Tbilisi in October 1977. As the preparatory committee for the UN Conference on Desertification, the Governing Council considered the Executive Director's report on preparations for the conference and suggested that the conference should concentrate on immediate actions which are required to combat desertification rather than devoting attention to reclamation which is more expensive and time consuming.

On the future level of UNEP's program activities the Council adopted a medium-term plan for 1978-1981 which will continue the program in real terms at about the same level projected for the first five-year period and authorized allocations for fund program activities of \$35,700,000 in 1977, and \$31,600,000 in 1978, further leveling off at \$30 million in 1979 and beyond. To support this level of program, the Council also approved the intention of the Executive Director to seek contributions for the years 1978-1981 up to \$150 million.

By the end of 1977, \$28,240,287 had been contributed by member states to the Environment Fund for that year of which \$10 million represented the U.S. contribution.

UN Conference on Desertification

This conference for which the UNEP Governing Council served as the preparatory body took place in Nairobi, August 29 to September 9, 1977, under the presidency of J. G. Kino, the Minister for Water Development of Kenya, with Dr. Mostafa Tolba, UNEP Executive Director, serving as Secretary General. The conference attracted 700 official delegates from 95 countries, representatives of 32 UN and other international bodies, and representatives of 44 non-governmental organizations. The U.S. delegation was headed by Under Secretary of the Interior, James A. Joseph.

In presenting the major U.S. statement to the conference, Under Secretary Joseph noted that the problem of desertification "is critical on a worldwide scale, and the long term social, economic and political consequences of failure to solve it are enormous." He noted that the case studies prepared for the conference revealed that the historical pattern of U.S. domestic experience was "being repeated throughout the world: the relentless pressures of too many people and too many animals on land that can support far fewer numbers . . . The introduction of inappropriate technology that cause fertile soil to blow away or become saline . . . The overuse and misuse of limited water resources, causing them to become degraded or to dry up . . . And the destruction of the vegetative cover by mismanagement, lack of understanding, or social and economic necessity which regardless of origin, quickly allows the desert to intrude." He committed the full cooperation of the United States in doing its part in worldwide cooperative efforts to address these problems.

Overall, the conference was marked by an atmosphere of cooperation, conciliation and consensus broken only by the intrusion of a political issue concerning the Israel-Negev desert on which a vote was required and by the failure to achieve consensus on certain financial institutional arrangements.

A far reaching plan of action was adopted containing a set of 28 interrelated recommendations for combating desertification. The immediate goals of the Plan of Action are to arrest and, where possible, to reverse the process of desertification and reclaim desertified land. Its ultimate objectives are to sustain and promote within ecological limits the productivity of arid, semi-arid, sub-humid and other areas vulnerable to desertification.

On the question of institutional and financial arrangements to oversee the implementation of the Plan of Action the conference readily agreed to recommend to the General Assembly that overall responsibility for following up the recommendations of the Desertification Conference should be assigned to UNEP. A broad consensus also existed for strengthening the role of the regional commissions. Agreement on financial arrangements, however, proved more difficult. The final action calls for immediate establishment of a permanent consultative group of multilateral and bilateral assistance agencies

plus developing country representatives; creation by the General Assembly of a "special account" for the financing of desertification programs; and a study of possible other measures, such as funds in trust and international taxation schemes. The U.S. delegation reserved the U.S. position on all three issues, in particular on the creation of a special account.

With the exception of the Israeli-Negev issue, the political issues which arose were amenable to compromise and voting became unnecessary. The Israeli-Negev issue involved a Middle Eastern resolution rejecting as a conference document the Israeli case study on the Negev Desert. The controversy over this issue was resolved only by a roll call vote of 45 to 17 (U.S.), with 14 abstentions.

ECOSOC and General Assembly Consideration

The 63rd ECOSOC considered the report of the fifth session of the Governing Council in three meetings between July 11-19, 1977, and recommended its approval to the General Assembly. At its resumed session, later in the year, ECOSOC received the report of the Desertification Conference and commended its consideration to the General Assembly.

The 32nd Assembly considered the United Nations Environment Program including the Conference on Desertification in the Second Committee at 12 sessions between October 17 and December 10. The committee considered and adopted six resolutions. The first resolution, adopted by consensus, noted with satisfaction the report of the Governing Council's fifth session and urged, *inter alia*, continued support for the UN Environment Fund through generous contributions.^{68/} The second resolution, adopted by consensus, dealt with financial and technical assistance to the least developed among the developing countries and urged that the UN and its member states and the specialized agencies and international regional financial institutions take steps to ensure the implementation of the recommendations of the UN Conference on Desertification in favor of the least developed countries by extending additional international and bilateral assistance.^{69/} The third resolution, also adopted by consensus, dealt with measures to be taken for the benefit of the Sudano-Sahelian region and requested the Governing Council of the UNEP to consider at its sixth session measures to improve the institutional arrangements in the Sudano-Sahelian region to enhance efforts to combat desertification in this region.^{70/} A fourth resolution, adopted by a vote of 107 to 4 (U.S.), with 28 abstentions, dealt with an issue raised at the Habitat Conference on Human Settlements concerning the living conditions of the Palestinian people.^{71/} This was an anti-Israeli resolution which the

^{68/} Resolution 32/168.

^{69/} Resolution 32/169.

^{70/} Resolution 32/170.

^{71/} Resolution 32/171.

U.S. opposed at Habitat and has consistently rejected in the General Assembly.

The next resolution dealt with the report of the UN Conference on Desertification and was passed by a vote of 129 (U.S.) to 0, with 14 abstentions.^{72/} This resolution generally endorsed the report of the Desertification Conference and entrusted the Governing Council and Executive Director of UNEP with the responsibility of following up and coordinating the implementation of the Plan of Action. The resolution also endorses in principle the creation of a special account within the UN for implementing the Plan and requested the Secretary General to submit a study on the establishment and operation of such an account. While the United States delegation joined in the vote approving this resolution, it noted for its record that its position on the creation of a special account had not changed.

Finally, the General Assembly adopted by consensus a resolution appealing to all governments to contribute to the United Nations Habitat and Human Settlements Foundation noting in this connection the proposal of the UNEP Executive Director regarding a target of \$50 million as a minimum for the Foundation for the years 1978-1981.^{73/}

HABITAT: UN HUMAN SETTLEMENTS ACTIVITIES

After almost 4 years of preparation, Habitat: the UN Conference on Human Settlements, took place in Vancouver, Canada, from May 31 to June 11, 1976. The conference, which was attended by 132 states, focused largely on national action. A separate nongovernmental conference met simultaneously in Vancouver and provided a productive interaction with the official conference.

On the international side, Habitat had two major tasks: creating a satisfactory institutional arrangement within the United Nations to deal with human settlements and recommending specific programs of activity. The conference reached a consensus on an organizational arrangement that would (1) consolidate the staffs of the Center for Housing, Building, and Planning (a part of the UN Secretariat in New York) and the UN Habitat and Human Settlements Foundation (attached to UNEP in Nairobi); (2) establish an inter-governmental body of no more than 58 states to provide policy guidance; and (3) establish a small human settlements secretariat unit and an intergovernmental committee in each of the regional economic commissions. This proposed organization would provide a focal point within the United Nations for human settlements activity.

Left unsettled, however, were the questions of the organizational link, whether to the UN Secretariat or to UNEP, and the location of the new secretariat. The United States supported the view, which a clear majority of those speaking at Habitat favored, that the human settlements unit should be in the Department of Economic and

^{72/} Resolution 32/172.

^{73/} Resolution 32/173.

Social Affairs of the UN Secretariat in New York, because the programs envisaged would be primarily developmental and not environmental. However, the majority of states did not indicate a preference at all, and Habitat therefore recommended that the General Assembly should take the final decision.

The 31st General Assembly deferred taking a decision on the institutional arrangements until the 32nd General Assembly. ECOSOC was requested to give the problem attention at its 63rd session (summer 1977) and to make concrete recommendations to the Assembly. The failure to reach a decision at the 31st Assembly stemmed from a continuing lack of consensus on where the organization should be located and what the organizational link should be.

Decisions reached initially at the 63rd ECOSOC and confirmed or amended at the 32nd General Assembly in December resulted in a somewhat different, though generally acceptable, structural framework from what the United States had sought.

On December 19, by a recorded vote of 124 (U.S.) to 0, with 13 abstentions, the Assembly adopted a resolution^{74/} approving institutional arrangements for international cooperation in the field of human settlements. The resolution, recommended by the Second Committee, decided that ECOSOC should transform its Committee on Housing, Building, and Planning into a 58-member Commission on Human Settlements. The members are to be elected for 3-year terms on the basis of 16 seats for African states, 13 for Asian states, 6 for Eastern European states, 10 for Latin American states, and 13 for Western European and other states.^{75/}

The Commission's main functions and responsibilities will include: (1) developing and promoting objectives, priorities, and guidelines regarding existing and planned programs of work in the field of human settlements, as formulated in the recommendations of the 1976 Conference and subsequently endorsed by the General Assembly; (2) following closely the activities of the UN system and other international organizations in the field of human settlements and to propose, when appropriate, ways and means by which the overall policy objectives and goals in the field of human settlements within the UN system might best be achieved; (3) studying, in the context of the Conference's recommendations for national action, new issues, problems, and especially solutions in the field of human settlements, particularly those of a regional or international character; (4) giving overall policy guidance and carrying out supervision of the operations of the UN Habitat and Human Settlements Foundation; (5) reviewing and approving periodically the utilization of funds at its disposal for carrying out human settlements activities at the global, regional, and subregional levels; and (6) providing overall direction to the secretariat of the Habitat Center for Human Settlements.

The new secretariat which will undertake UN activities in the human settlements field is known as "Habitat, Center for Human

^{74/} Resolution 32/162.

^{75/} On Jan. 12, 1978, ECOSOC elected the U.S. to a 3-year term on the Commission.

Settlements." Despite concerted efforts by the United States to retain New York as the headquarters site, the majority decided to accept Kenya's offer of Nairobi, to which the Center's staff is expected to move in late 1978. Neither ECOSOC nor the General Assembly were able to agree on the rank of the executive director of the Center, who is to be appointed by and responsible to the UN Secretary General.

The various UN components which the General Assembly decided to meld into the Center included the Center for Housing, Building, and Planning of the UN Secretariat, part of the Division of Economic and Social Programs of UNEP directly concerned with human settlements, and the UN Habitat and Human Settlements Foundation. Under the leadership of the executive director, the Center's most important responsibilities will be: (1) to ensure the harmonization at the intersecretariat level of human settlements programs planned and carried out by the UN system; (2) to assist the Commission on Human Settlements in coordinating human settlements activities in the UN system, to keep them under review and to assess their effectiveness; (3) to execute human settlements projects; (4) to provide the focal point for a global exchange of information about human settlements; (5) to provide substantive support to the Commission on Human Settlements; and (6) to deal with interregional human settlements matters.

EFFECTS OF ATOMIC RADIATION

The UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR)^{76/} was established by the General Assembly in 1955 to provide continuous review and evaluation of the effects of ionizing radiation on humans and their environment. Radiation in this context includes both natural and manmade (i.e., from atmospheric and surface nuclear weapons tests, nuclear power plants, and peaceful nuclear explosions) environmental radiation, and medical and occupational exposures. In addition to the collation and evaluation of the literature on radiation effects, UNSCEAR in November 1973 agreed to evaluate the radiological hazards created by testing activities in one country if asked to do so by a possibly injured neighboring country. To date, UNSCEAR has not been requested to conduct any such evaluations.

Dr. Robert D. Moseley, Professor of Radiology at the University of New Mexico, was the United States Representative at UNSCEAR's 26th session, held in Vienna, Austria, April 13-22, 1977. The U.S. delegation also included scientists from the Energy Research and Development Administration, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and the Argonne and Oak Ridge National Laboratories.

At the 26th session, the Committee completed the preparation of another comprehensive report containing current information

^{76/} The members are Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Mexico, Peru, Poland, Sudan, Sweden, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and the United States.

concerning the genetic and somatic effects of ionizing radiation, radioactivity in the environment, occupational exposures, and medical irradiation. This was the final of four sessions required for the planning, drafting, editing and approval of a comprehensive report.

This report entitled "Sources and Effects of Ionizing Radiation" was presented to the 32nd session of the UN General Assembly. It was praised by a number of speakers, in the Special Political Committee, who called it a comprehensive, highly valuable report which would be useful to the decision making of both governmental and nongovernmental bodies. On October 19, the Special Political Committee approved without vote a Canadian-Czechoslovak draft resolution cosponsored by 17 other countries. The draft resolution commended the Scientific Committee for its activities, especially the comprehensive report, and requested it to continue its work and to review the important problems in the field of radiation and report to the 33rd session of the General Assembly.

The General Assembly adopted the resolution without vote on October 31, 1977.^{77/}

NATURAL RESOURCES

The most important UN development during 1977 in the field of natural resources was the adoption by the 32nd UN General Assembly of a resolution on financing of natural resource exploration. Sponsored in the Second Committee by 18 developing countries, the resolution^{78/} requests the Secretary General to prepare, with the assistance of a group of high-level experts appointed by him on the recommendation of governments, a report which is to address (1) the financial requirements over the next 10 to 15 years for the exploration and location of natural resources in developing countries, (2) the availability of multilateral mechanisms for the provision of adequate finance for the exploration of natural resources, and (3) the availability of mechanisms for the transfer of technology to developing countries for exploration and exploitation of natural resources. The report, which is to contain conclusions and recommendations on these points, will be considered by the Assembly at its 33rd session.

The resolution was approved by the Second Committee on December 13 by a vote of 108 to 0, with 7 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the Assembly on December 19 by a vote of 130 to 0, with 8 abstentions (U.S.). In an explanation given after the vote in committee, the U.S. Representative, Ray Riemer, said that the United States supported the idea of a study, but regretted that its terms of reference tended to prejudice the outcome. Similarly, the resolution seemed to presume the need for new mechanisms for the transfer of technology, a topic under intense consideration in other forums in the UN system. The statement also made clear, however, that the United States fully shared the basic objective of the resolution

^{77/} Resolution 32/6.

^{78/} Resolution 32/176.

and considered efforts to promote exploration and exploitation of natural resources "critically important" both for promoting economic development in countries with exploitable resources and for ensuring adequate supplies of raw materials for an expanding global economy.

The fifth regular session of the Committee on Natural Resources was held from May 9 to 20, 1977, in Geneva. The timing tended to hamper the usefulness of the session since the final report from the UN Water Conference was not yet available, and the CIEC was holding its final meetings at the same time in Paris. Nevertheless, the Committee did initiate follow-up to the Water Conference Action Plan (at U.S. urging), beginning a process which culminated in a resolution adopted by the 32nd General Assembly (see p. 154). The Committee also called for new studies on coal, chromite, nickel, and natural gas.

There was considerable discussion concerning the future role of the Committee and the UN system in general in energy matters. One proposal, a draft resolution sponsored by Kenya and subsequently adopted by the Committee and ECOSOC,^{79/} requested the Secretary General to submit a report to ECOSOC in 1978 on the feasibility of holding an international conference on new and renewable energy sources. However, almost all Western and developing countries were unwilling to commit themselves on the Committee's role in energy matters or on the Secretariat proposal for a consultative group on energy resources development; the Eastern Europeans were equally reserved. In the end, only a general suggestion to ECOSOC was made, to the effect that it "consider" a review on the inter-governmental level of international energy cooperation within the UN system. ECOSOC took no action on this suggestion. These events confirmed the impossibility for the present of instituting a broad energy dialogue within the UN system, in succession to the CIEC.

As has been the practice at each session of the General Assembly for the past few years, a draft resolution on permanent sovereignty over national resources in the occupied Arab territories^{80/} was approved in the Second Committee on December 8 by a rollcall vote of 98 to 3 (Australia, Israel, U.S.), with 24 abstentions, and adopted by the 32nd Assembly on December 19 by a recorded vote of 109 to 3 (Australia, Israel, U.S.), with 26 abstentions. The resolution, sponsored by 52 developing countries, (1) noted the Secretary General's report on the adverse economic effects resulting from Israeli occupation; (2) supplemented the "incomplete coverage" of the report by listing various other "pertinent losses"; (3) re-affirmed previous claims to full and effective permanent Arab sovereignty as well as restitution of and full compensation for Israeli exploitation of resources; and (4) called upon all states not to recognize or cooperate with Israeli exploitation of resources in the occupied territories.

The United States opposed this resolution, in accordance with its past practice and long-established position that this is not an appropriate issue for Second Committee consideration.

^{79/} Resolution 2119 (LXIII).

^{80/} Resolution 32/161.

UN WATER CONFERENCE

The UN Water Conference, the first of two major world conferences to take place under UN auspices during 1977, was held in Mar del Plata, Argentina, March 14-25. It was attended by representatives of 116 countries and some 40 international organizations. The U.S. delegation was headed by Charles Warren, Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, and Ambassador Nancy Rawls of the U.S. Mission to the United Nations.

The principal U.S. statement was delivered by Mr. Warren on March 15. He observed that a series of water shortages, water problems, and water disasters in the United States were forcing a reconsideration of policies previously considered farsighted and advanced. He said:

" . . . We are beginning to reduce our emphasis on water development and to give more thought to water management. We are beginning to distinguish human needs for water from human desires for water. In short, we are beginning to employ an environmental perspective in evaluating water projects and water use"

He expressed the view that most nations shared, in varying degrees, water problems and experiences similar to those of the United States, and he summed up the central issue of the Conference by declaring: "At issue, then, is how the earth's fixed supply of water can be managed to meet future demands imposed by the world-wide growth of population, agriculture, and industry."

The Conference had noteworthy success in addressing the critical relationship between global water resources and economic development. It highlighted the serious constraints that growing competition for a fixed supply of water are already placing on the world's ability to achieve goals for food and energy production and disease prevention. (For example, irrigation must be expanded by some 75% over the next 15 years simply to keep pace with world-wide food demand; and because 70% of the world's population still lacks safe drinking water, an estimated 250 million cases of water-borne disease and 7.5 million deaths occur yearly.)

A series of specific and realistic actions was agreed to, with emphasis on country responsibilities for improved water management and conservation. Among the most significant were: (1) agreement that priority be given by developing states to providing safe drinking water and sanitation for the yet unserved rural poor (with an international decade, 1980-90, to be devoted to this goal); and (2) agreement that initial guidelines should be developed to help prevent conflicts over water resources shared by two or more countries. Increased attention to pollution control and the environmental aspects of water development activities, which the United States strongly advocated, received wide endorsement. No special funds or institutions for water were approved, although a study was authorized of possible new financing mechanisms.

A mood of compromise and consensus prevailed. Political issues,

although present, were contained and did not dominate or detract from consideration of global water problems. Resolutions introduced by Panama on the Panama Canal and by the Arab states on the occupied territories were handled expeditiously and without divisive confrontation. The issue of shared water resources, which was part of the legitimate subject matter of the Conference and of vital concern to the countries directly involved (e.g., Brazil-Argentina, Turkey-Syria-Iraq, India-Bangladesh), was handled without introducing specific bilateral disputes. Rather, the emphasis was placed on general principles and approaches for preventing future disputes.

The UN Committee on Natural Resources, which had earlier held two special 1-week sessions (the last in January 1977) as the preparatory body for the Conference, will, at the request of ECOSOC,^{81/} also act as the principal follow-up mechanism. A special session of the Committee was scheduled for September 1978 to review the implementation of the Conference recommendations, known collectively as the Mar del Plata Action Plan.

Both ECOSOC and the 32nd General Assembly reviewed the Conference report during the latter part of 1977 and urged states to take appropriate action to implement the Conference recommendations. Following action by ECOSOC in August, the General Assembly adopted the report and approved the Mar del Plata Action Plan. The resolution to this effect was introduced in the Second Committee by Argentina and sponsored by 38 countries, including the United States. It was approved by the Committee on November 30 by a vote of 90 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions, and adopted by the plenary Assembly on December 19 by a recorded vote of 128 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions.^{82/}

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE UN SYSTEM

The Committee on Science and Technology for Development, a standing committee of ECOSOC, held its first session acting as the preparatory committee for the UN Conference on Science and Technology for Development at UN headquarters from January 31 to February 14, 1977. It took a number of decisions pertaining to preparatory activities for the conference. A major decision requested all member states to prepare "national papers" which should include the identification of goals, policies, priorities, and recommendations dealing with the application of science and technology to development at the national, regional, and global levels, in accordance with the agenda of the conference. The Committee also decided that the conference secretariat, in cooperation with the organizations and agencies of the UN system, should, at the request of a government, provide assistance for the preparation of national papers.

To ensure the relevance and homogeneity of format, the preparatory committee approved guidelines for the preparation of national papers on the basis of recommendations of the Advisory Committee on the Application of Science and Technology to Develop-

^{81/} Resolution 2115 (LXIII), adopted Aug. 4.

^{82/} Resolution 32/158.

ment.^{83/} As suggested by the guidelines, the contents of the national papers should be in accordance with the various topics listed in the conference agenda as defined by ECOSOC in 1976, under the three broad headings of: (1) science and technology for development; (2) institutional arrangements and new forms of international cooperation in the application of science and technology; and (3) utilization of the existing UN system and other international organizations.

The guidelines recommend that the above topics and associated subtopics be developed in such a manner that the identification and diagnosis of problems and pertinent recommendations for concrete solutions should form an integral part of the national papers. To this end, the Committee recommended that each item be dealt with as far as possible in accordance with the following framework: (1) the country's understanding of and commitment to the application of science and technology to development; (2) the country's perceived and actual strategy of integrating science and technology with economic and social development; (3) the obstacles experienced by the country in carrying out the above; and (4) illustrations of any new scientific and technological developments which, if properly applied, hold promise for development.

The committee also recommended that the national papers reflect the totality of the scientific and technological experience of the respective countries, using a sectoral approach when necessary for the purpose of illustration.

These analyses should take into consideration such aspects as: (1) the role of modern science and technology in the socio-economic development of the particular country; (2) the general principles of scientific policy of the particular country and the basic directions of science and technology for development; and (3) building up and strengthening scientific and technological potential, improving infrastructure, and administering science as an organizational system.

ECOSOC considered the report of the preparatory committee during its 63rd session, and on August 4 it adopted, by a vote of 46 to 0, a resolution^{84/}sponsored by the United States and 18 others that, inter alia, urged governments and concerned UN bodies to commit the necessary time and financial and personnel resources to the preparations for the conference.

The Second Committee of the 32nd General Assembly considered the report of the preparatory committee at 20 meetings between September 28 and December 9. On December 5 it approved, by a vote of 111 (U.S.) to 0, with 9 abstentions, a draft resolution that the United States cosponsored along with the developing countries

^{83/} An expert committee of 24 members, appointed by ECOSOC for 3-year terms. On Dec. 14 ECOSOC decided without vote to adopt a resolution enlarging the Committee to 28 members. Bruce H. Billings of the United States was a member in 1977.

^{84/} Resolution 2123 (LXIII).

and a number of Western European and other states. The draft resolution (1) endorsed the ECOSOC resolution of August 4; (2) affirmed that the conference should be aimed at, inter alia, the development of the independent scientific and technological capacity of developing countries, in particular through technological innovations, in order to facilitate the solution of their economic and social problems; (3) decided that the Committee on Science and Technology for Development, when acting as the preparatory committee for the conference, should be open to the participation of all states as full members; (4) affirmed that the secretary general of the conference was invested with full responsibility for the coordination of all substantive work of the preparatory committee for the conference; (5) requested the secretary general of the conference to submit to the UN Secretary General current reports on the state of preparations for the conference; and (6) requested the UN Secretary General to submit to the General Assembly at its 33rd session, through ECOSOC, a comprehensive and analytical report on the state of preparations for the conference. The Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution⁸⁵ on December 15 by a recorded vote of 127 (U.S.) to 1, with 10 abstentions.

On the same day the Assembly chose by secret ballot the site for the conference. A two-thirds majority (68) was required. On the first ballot Austria received 52 votes, a developing country (not yet named) received 46, and the United States 38. On the second and conclusive ballot, restricted to the two sites receiving the highest number of votes on the first, Austria received 83 votes and the developing country received 52. The General Assembly then adopted by consensus on December 19 a resolution⁸⁶ deciding that the conference would be held in Vienna for two weeks in 1979 at an appropriate time.

UNITED NATIONS UNIVERSITY

The UN University is jointly sponsored by UNESCO and the United Nations. Its charter was adopted by the General Assembly in 1973, and the University became operational in 1975. Its purpose is to promote international understanding of global problems and collaboration among the scholars, scientists, and institutions that are addressing these problems. It comprises a University Center in Tokyo for planning and program coordination and worldwide networks of associated academic and research institutions. It funds advanced training fellowships and multidisciplinary research projects; disseminates information about research that is being undertaken; and serves as a nongovernmental world forum for the discussion of global problems such as hunger, energy, and development. The University is headed by a Rector, Dr. James M. Hester (U.S.), and it is governed by a Council of distinguished educators and scientists, appointed by the UN Secretary General, who serve in a personal capacity for a 6-year term.

The University Council has approved three general priority

⁸⁵ / Resolution 32/115.

⁸⁶ / Resolution 32/184.

areas for the University's programs: world hunger, human and social development, and the use and management of natural resources. The University has consulted with other UN organizations and regional organizations and used advisory committees of experts to develop programs in these areas.

The World Hunger Program, developed under the direction of Nevin S. Scrimshaw of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1976, functions with four associated institutions that serve as centers for networks in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. These are the Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama, in Guatemala City; the Central Food Technological Research Institute, in Mysore, India (servicing Africa); the Nutrition Center of the Philippines, in Manila; and the University of Chile. Programs with these centers are providing advanced training in applied research for persons from 16 countries.

In 1977 the University inaugurated its first research activities under its Human and Social Development Program with the Marga Institute in Sri Lanka and the Fundacion Bariloche in Argentina. UNU projects with these institutions are concerned with the sharing and transfer of traditional technologies in selected rural communities and the ways in which traditional technologies can be most effectively integrated with modern technology in the developing world.

The Natural Resources Program is concentrating initially on three topics: the energy needs of small rural communities in the developing world; the local resources systems in humid tropical areas; and the reasons for the widespread failure to apply existing knowledge in recent development projects to critical problems of the arid lands of the world. This program involves individuals and institutions from 42 countries.

The University disseminates information about its programs and activities through a bimonthly newsletter, a variety of reports and technical workshops, and a series of consultative meetings. During 1977 the latter, which were designed to inform and consult with academic, scientific, and government leaders throughout the world, were held in Paris, Bonn, Stockholm, Kuala Lumpur, Caracas, Washington, Ottawa, and Mexico City.

The University's activities are financed by income derived from a central endowment fund established through voluntary contributions. By the end of 1977 pledges and contributions to this fund totalled approximately \$124 million, with \$76.4 million actually paid in. Japan has paid \$70 million of the \$100 million pledge it made to the University in 1973. Other major donors are Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Ghana, and Senegal. The United States has not contributed to the University's endowment fund, but President Carter requested funds for this purpose in his fiscal 1979 appropriation request.

At three meetings between November 4 and 18 the Second Committee of the 32nd General Assembly considered the report of the UN University Council on its progress and work during its second year of operation. On November 18 the Committee approved without vote a draft resolution, introduced by Venezuela and sponsored by 21 states, that (1) welcomed the fact that the program activities of the Uni-

versity were under way in all three priority program areas; (2) invited the University to make renewed efforts to reflect in the formulation of its programs and urgent concerns of member states and to follow closely the activities and conferences of other agencies and bodies of the UN system in order to develop cooperative and coordinated relationships with them; (3) urged the University to intensify its efforts to obtain financial support from all possible sources; (4) appealed to all member states to make substantial contributions to the University's endowment fund; and (5) requested the UN Secretary General, in consultation with the Rector of the University, the Council of the University, and the Director General of UNESCO, to explore more effective means of raising funds and to report to the 33rd General Assembly on progress in this regard. On December 8 the resolution was adopted without vote by the General Assembly in plenary session.^{87/}

UN INSTITUTE FOR TRAINING AND RESEARCH

UNITAR has two main functions: it carries out research, particularly on technologies and ideas appropriate to development, and it holds seminars, particularly to familiarize delegates with the functions of the UN system.

The UNITAR Board of Trustees, which sets overall policy and approves the budget, is composed of individuals appointed by the UN Secretary General on a broad geographical basis for 3-year terms. The current 22-member Board took office July 1, 1976.^{88/} The Board has four ex officio members: the Secretary General, the President of the General Assembly, the President of ECOSOC, and the Executive Director of UNITAR (Davidson Nicol of Sierra Leone).

At its 16th session, held in New York, September 13-16, 1977, the Board of Trustees approved the Executive Director's budget estimates for 1978 totaling \$2,197,500 and authorized him to incur additional expenditures from special-purpose grants to the extent that such funds became available. The United States contributed \$400,000 to the General Fund in 1977 and pledged \$500,000 for 1978.

There are three major areas of UNITAR research: (1) international organizations; (2) development and international economies; and (3) peace and security. A shift in emphasis has given the first two areas priority over the third. Much of the research is carried out with a view to assisting regional cooperation with the United Nations and to helping the United Nations plan projects appropriate particularly to developing countries. Other studies concerned new energy sources and the role of women in development.

UNITAR seeks a wide dissemination of its research work. Besides numerous publications distributed through UN channels, books published during 1977 included The Future Supply of Nature-Made Petroleum and Gas; Global Models and the International Economic Order;

^{87/} Resolution 32/54.

^{88/} Harvey Picker, Dean of the Faculty of International Affairs at Colombia University, is a member of the Board.

and International Dispute Settlement Through the United Nations. Nine book-length manuscripts--on such topics as cooperation between countries with different political and social structures; cooperation for development; Arab Development Fund in the Middle East; and theory and methodology in planning in the developing countries--were completed during the year. Under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation work began on the role of the United Nations in disaster preparedness and advance planning for disaster relief.

The "Project on the Future" has become increasingly important since the UNITAR Board of Trustees first approved it in December 1975. Dealing with a whole range of issues--particularly the ecological problems of the environment and the physical limits to growth--the Project is intended to help orient UNITAR's work toward constructive proposals for future projects rather than toward historical research. It is undertaking a major project in respect of human basic needs. In collaboration with the State Government of California it held a conference in Sacramento on "Alternative Strategies for Desert Development and Management." Another conference was held in Dakar on "Africa and the Problematique of the Future." In addition, the Project published a quarterly bulletin, "Important for the Future."

UNITAR continued its important training function in both Geneva and New York. Between July 1976 and June 1977 there were 699 participants (including 18 Americans) in UNITAR seminars. These participants included diplomats, international officials, and international civil servants. During the past 10 years the greatest number of participants have come from Egypt and Mexico (73 each), Zaire (65), Indonesia (64), United States, Thailand, and Venezuela (57 each), Canada (55), and Nigeria and Sudan (52 each).

The Second Committee of the 32nd General Assembly considered the report of UNITAR at three meetings between October 17 and 20. Speaking on October 19 the U.S. Representative, Monica Ladd, took note of the financial difficulties of UNITAR and expressed the hope that the 25% increase in the U.S. contribution might encourage others to contribute as well. At the same time she reiterated the U.S. view that UNITAR's objectivity was best preserved through continued financing on a voluntary basis. The United States, therefore, disagreed with the view expressed by the Board of Trustees and some others that a financial contribution should be sought from the regular UN budget.

The U.S. Representative expressed support for the Project on the Future and suggested the UNITAR's research department might direct its attention to industrialization of developing countries. Specifically, it could study, in conjunction with UNIDO's International Center for Industrial Studies, the means available for such industrialization and the methodologies applicable to the system of consultations launched by UNIDO. The United States believed that an independent study of the way such consultations might contribute to changing the world's industrial structure would be useful in view of the differing opinions held by UNIDO member states.

On October 20 the Second Committee approved without a vote a draft resolution, sponsored by 36 states from all geographic areas, that (1) welcomed the emphasis and urged the continuation of the

work of UNITAR "in the sphere of economic and social training and research and the inclusion of specific projects on the problems in the areas identified by the General Assembly at its sixth and seventh special sessions and in the relevant decisions of the Assembly at its 29th session" and (2) expressed the hope that UNITAR would have greater and wider financial support from member states and organizations. The resolution was adopted by the Assembly without vote on December 8.^{89/}

^{89/} Resolution 32/51.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

On March 17, 1977, President Carter, speaking at the United Nations, keynoted the importance he attached to the human rights of all peoples. 90/

His statement set the tone of the new Administration's approach to this issue in the UN system in 1977.

The new U.S. emphasis on these issues was noticeable as early as the 33rd session of the Human Rights Commission, 91/ held February 7-March 11 in Geneva. Human rights issues were also considered during the 62nd session of ECOSOC, April 12-May 13. This was followed by the 30th session of the Human Rights Commission's Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, which met in Geneva from August 15 to September 12. An American, Ambassador W. Beverly Carter, is a member of this important group of experts. Throughout 1977, the Administration strove to establish a worldwide awareness of the U.S. concern for the rights of individual human beings and the duties of governments. These themes were carried by the U.S. delegation to the discussions of the 32nd General Assembly.

INTERNATIONAL COVENANTS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

The International Covenants on Human Rights entered into force in 1976. The Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights was in force for 46 states as of June 1, 1977; the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights for 44 states; the Optional Protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights for 16 states.

On October 5, 1977, the President visited the United Nations for the second time and signed the two Covenants on behalf of the United States. (They were subsequently transmitted by a message from the President of February 23, 1978, to the United States Senate for its advice and consent to ratification.)

During discussion of these treaties, both in the Human Rights Commission in the spring and in the General Assembly in the fall, the issue of the priorities of human rights was raised. The United States, along with many other countries, continued to insist on the interdependence of and equal importance of all human rights. Many others urged that economic rights, especially a "right to national

90/ See Appendix I, p. 313 for complete text of statement.

91/ Members in 1977 were Austria, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Cyprus, Ecuador, Egypt, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Iran, Italy, Jordan, Lesotho, Libya, Nigeria, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Rwanda, Senegal, Sweden, Syria, Turkey, Uganda, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, Upper Volta, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia.

development," took precedence. These themes came up in debates on other agenda items as well.

Speaking on October 27, in the General Assembly's Third Committee, Coretta Scott King reiterated the U.S. position saying ". . . We consider civil and political rights to be interdependent upon economic, social, and cultural rights. All these rights must be seen as a whole, and a healthy society will seek to promote and protect all of them."

On December 8, the General Assembly adopted by consensus a resolution 92/inviting states to become parties to the Covenants, providing support for the role of the new Human Rights Committee under the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and calling for a further report on the Covenants from the Secretary General to the next General Assembly.

PROCEDURES FOR DEALING WITH HUMAN RIGHTS COMPLAINTS

In the Human Rights Commission, the United States criticized the human rights violations of certain states and called for improvement of the UN human rights procedures and machinery so that a more evenhanded treatment of human rights problems could be achieved. This included the call for more effective use of the existing machinery set up by ECOSOC in its resolution 1503, adopted on May 27, 1970--procedures which provide for study or investigation of private human rights complaints forwarded by the Subcommission, when they reveal a "consistent pattern of gross" human rights violations.

The Commission once again set up machinery prescribed by this resolution for handling the confidential cases for the next session, and this action of the Commission was approved by ECOSOC.

The United States was concerned that the Human Rights Commission had been unable to agree to discuss in open session some serious human rights problems, such as those reported in Uganda. At the same time the Commission's confidential proceedings were not being used to help improve human rights situations even in cases of apparent "consistent" and "gross" violations. During discussions in the Commission, speakers from several states called for the United Nations "to maintain the procedure" for receiving communications from nongovernmental parties under ECOSOC resolution 1503 "which should not be weakened in any way."

In the late summer of 1977, during its 30th session, the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, a body of independent experts, acting under the 1503 procedures, processed individual and private organization complaints of human rights violations in order to determine those cases which reveal situations involving a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights.

The Subcommittee's Working Group on Communications 93/met for its 6th annual session which began on August 1, in confidential sessions. The working group voted to forward complaints against six countries to the Human Rights Commission for study under the Commission's confidential machinery.

In the General Assembly, some of the most politically difficult and important issues were those involving complaints about the human rights conditions in member states.

Reports of the grave human rights situation in Uganda resulted in pressures from the United States public and the Congress to bring the Ugandan matter to the General Assembly. The United States in the Third Committee on December 6 offered its support to a draft resolution introduced by Finland, and joined by Denmark, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, concerning the human rights situation in Uganda. The resolution never came to a vote because the African states preferred to avoid having one of their members singled out in the General Assembly in this way. Nevertheless, the resolution stimulated a vigorous internal African debate and led to an agreement whereby the sponsors would not press the issue to a vote but the Chair would state the general consensus that the next meeting of the Human Rights Commission should take up the issue.

On December 6, Nigeria introduced a draft resolution ultimately sponsored by 10 states, including the United States, which encouraged the creation of regional human rights machinery where none exists. The resolution was adopted by consensus in the Third Committee on December 12 and by the plenary Assembly on December 16. ^{94/} This agreement demonstrated the positive concern of the developing world for human rights as well as their desire to put their own houses in order and to police their own problems, as far as possible.

On December 12, the U.S. Representative in the Third Committee, Brady Tyson, recounted the favorable U.S. experience with regional organizations by discussing the work of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. He said that body had acted fairly and prudently, and had established a level of integrity which gave it great national prestige. He hoped that this resolution would encourage other regions to adopt human rights machinery tailored to their own needs.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN CHILE

The question of violation of human rights in Chile continued to command international attention as it had since 1974.

The Human Rights Commission on March 9 adopted a resolution which (1) asked for reports on how other states were acting to further human rights in Chile and to aid victims of Chilean oppression; (2) requested its Subcommittee to study the consequences of aid given to Chile and to study ways to aid those imprisoned in Chile and those forced to leave Chile; and (3) extended the mandate

^{93/} W. Beverly Carter, Jr., of the United States, was a member.

^{94/} Resolution 32/127.

of its Ad Hoc Working Group 95/for one year. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 26 (U.S.) to 1, with 5 abstentions. Uruguay voted against the resolution; four other Latin American states and Jordan abstained.

When the same issues were later discussed in the Subcommittee, some members reported finding little improvement in the human rights conditions in Chile. Continuation of the use of torture was alleged. Others reported the situation had been improving substantially. Some wanted to study the effect of economic aid on Chile; others argued a lack of expertise. Since the Human Rights Commission had requested a study, the Subcommittee appointed a Rapporteur (Antonio Cassese) to report on foreign aid to Chile in the past and to see how changes might affect human rights in Chile.

The U.S. policy has been to seek a fair, balanced, and objective approach. At the General Assembly, on December 16, a resolution critical of progress in Chile was adopted by 96 (U.S.) to 14, with 25 abstentions. 96/ The United States was persuaded that the evidence of serious violations sufficed for the United States to become a cosponsor. However, again, several Latin American states disagreed. They opposed the General Assembly resolution on the grounds that the Ad Hoc Working Group was unfair in its appraisal of the human rights situation in Chile and that the resolution did not give sufficient credit to progress achieved by the Chilean Government in human rights matters. In addition they objected to singling out Chile when they claimed many other countries also had human rights problems.

The United States cosponsored because it was deeply concerned over the welfare and freedom of the people of Chile. Furthermore, although it acknowledged that the Government of Chile was making efforts to improve the situation it regretted that the Ad Hoc Working Group had been unable to fulfill its mandate by visiting Chile.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST

In 1977, the Commission on Human Rights dealt once again with the issue of the Middle East occupied territories, as it has annually since 1968. During eight meetings, the Commission heard statements expressing concern at the situation in the occupied territories and alleging mistreatment of people from these areas held in Israeli prisons. Syria proposed that a telegram be sent to Israel expressing concern over prison conditions and treatment of detainees. Following discussion of wording of the telegram, a revised text was submitted by Senegal, which was adopted on February 10 by a rollcall vote of 22 to 3 (U.S.), with 5 abstentions. In explaining his vote, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Lowen-

95/ The members of the Ad Hoc Working Group, first appointed in Feb. 1975, are Ghulam Ali Allana (Pakistan), Leopoldo Benites (Ecuador), Felix Ermacora (Austria), Abdoulaye Dieye (Senegal), and Mrs. M. J. T. Kamara (Sierra Leone).

96/ Resolution 32/118.

stein, noted that objectionable procedures were followed in the formulation of the text, which selectively accepted Israeli admissions of need for improvement in prisons but at the same time rejected Israeli denial of other allegations. He suggested that the objective of helping detainees could have been better achieved by a text which could have been approved by consensus.

On February 17 the Commission adopted two resolutions. One, adopted without vote, urged Israel to apply the 1949 Geneva Convention relative to Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War to the occupied territories. The second "deplored" and "condemned" many alleged Israeli acts of destruction, torture, and violations of the Geneva Convention. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 23 to 3 (U.S.), with 6 abstentions. The U.S. Representative stated that the Commission had a limited mandate, a humanitarian one, and that the clear test of any resolution was its usefulness in achieving relief of suffering from oppression. In the case of this resolution that test was not met.

At the 62nd session of ECOSOC, the question of the violation by Israel of human rights in the occupied territories was again raised. Syria, on behalf also of Egypt and Jordan, introduced a draft resolution which commended the Commission on Human Rights for its vigilance and its actions taken in connection with the protection of human rights in the occupied territories and requested it to continue to take appropriate measures in this area. The resolution 97 was adopted May 13 by a recorded vote of 35 to 2 (U.S.), with 11 abstentions. (See also p.14 for General Assembly consideration of this question.)

HUMAN RIGHTS, COLONIALISM, AND RACISM

In 1977, the Human Rights Commission considered violations of human rights in southern Africa at six meetings from February 28 to March 4. The Ad Hoc Working Group of Experts on Southern Africa 98 submitted to the Commission a report on several aspects of apartheid. In connection with the Working Group's report the Commission, on March 4, adopted three resolutions. The first, inter alia, (1) expressed indignation regarding the situation which continues to prevail in southern Africa; (2) recommended the desirability of adopting specific measures, including those provided for in Chapter VII of the UN Charter with a view to putting an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa; (3) adopted all of the conclusions and recommendations of the Working Group; (4) condemned the activities which are helping to perpetuate the present situation in Namibia, Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia), and South Africa; and (5) requested the Working Group to continue to study the policies and practices which violate human rights in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe and to submit its findings to the Commission at its next session. The resolution was adopted by

97/ Resolution 2085 (LXII).

98/ Amjad Ali (India), Annan Arkyin Cato (Ghana), Humberto Díaz Casanueva (Chile), Felix Ermacora (Austria), Branimir Janković (Yugoslavia), and Kéba M'Baye (Senegal).

a rollcall vote of 28 to 1 (U.S.), with 3 abstentions. The United States had substantial reservations to several paragraphs of the resolution and to some of the recommendations of the Working Group. It was unwilling to call for action under Chapter VII or to call for the termination of all participation in the political and economic life in southern Africa.

A second resolution transmitted to ECOSOC for adoption a draft resolution which (1) approved the Commission's decision to extend the mandate of the Working Group, (2) expressed satisfaction with the work carried out by the Working Group, (3) called for the Working Group to examine the treatment of prisoners in South Africa, Namibia, and Zimbabwe, and (4) recommended the General Assembly declare 1978 International Anti-Apartheid Year. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

The third resolution recommended that ECOSOC adopt a resolution which took note of the Commission's resolution on the report of the Working Group and suggested the General Assembly should consider the applicability to UN organs of the obligation of administering powers to promote the advancement to territories under their administration and to protect the human and natural resources of those territories against abuses, and, in this connection, should consider the desirability of exercising fully its powers in its capacity as administering authority for Namibia, either directly or through the UN Council for Namibia. The resolution was adopted by a vote of 26 to 0, with 6 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstained because it felt the wording of the resolution too vague.

ECOSOC, on May 13, having first deleted the paragraph recommending that the General Assembly declare 1978 International Anti-Apartheid Year and treating it as a separate resolution, adopted the resolutions recommended by the Commission on Human Rights. 99/

Also adopted by the Commission on March 4 was a resolution entitled "The adverse consequences for the enjoyment of human rights of political, military, economic, and other forms of assistance given to colonial and racist regimes in southern Africa." The resolution, without citing specific countries, denounced "the political, economic, and other forms of assistance given by certain states to South Africa and to the illegal minority regime of Southern Rhodesia, either directly or through national or multinational companies." It reaffirmed "that arms sales, nuclear cooperation agreements, and the economic activities of national and multinational companies . . . constitute blatant acts of complicity in the crime of apartheid . . . and encouragement of the continuation of the policy of racial discrimination and colonialism, and represent a direct cause of the persistence of the illegal occupation of Namibia." Further, the resolution requested the Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities to prepare a list identifying those individuals, institutions, and groups, as well as representatives of states, ". . . whose activities constitute political, military, economic, or other forms of assistance to the colonial and racist regimes in southern Africa." The resolution was adopted by a rollcall vote of 24 to 4 (U.S.),

with 4 abstentions. The United States was joined by Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the United Kingdom in its opposition to the resolution. It was the U.S. view that the resolution was obviously aimed at criticizing the United States and other industrialized Western countries. Although the United States has consistently opposed apartheid, maintained an arms embargo against South Africa since 1963, and opposed continued South African control of Namibia, it was not able to support the resolution because it was not convinced that breaking off all relations with South Africa would best promote racial equality and peace in the region. (See also pp. 20 and 244 for General Assembly consideration of this general question.)

Another perennial issue in this area is that of self-determination. In four meetings of the Human Rights Commission, self-determination was recognized by most speakers as a prerequisite for the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the view was expressed by many that this right should be regarded not only as a general principle but as a binding rule of contemporary law, of fundamental importance for the development of friendly relations and for strengthening of universal peace. Palestine and southern Africa were again the foci of attention. No resolution was adopted on this item.

The Subcommission dealt with the issue briefly, concerning itself mainly with discussing the concept of self-determination. In anticipation of a Special Rapporteur's final report on the subject in 1978, the matter was deferred until that time.

A resolution entitled "Importance of the universal realization of the right of peoples to self-determination and of the speedy granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples for the effective guarantee and observance of human rights" was sponsored in the General Assembly's Third Committee by 29 African states. Once again the resolution contained the language condemning the policies of NATO countries to which the United States had objected the previous year. Belgium, on behalf of the United States and other NATO countries, introduced an amendment to strike out the reference to NATO.

The proposed amendment was defeated in the Third Committee by a rollcall vote of 25 (U.S.) to 61, with 41 abstentions, and the resolution as a whole was approved on October 24 by a rollcall vote of 108 to 3 (U.S.), with 18 abstentions.

After the vote, the U.S. Representative, Lois J. Matteson, said that she had to vote against the draft resolution because it contained language both objectionable and inopportune, but this in no way signified decreased U.S. support for those striving to determine freely their form of government.

When the resolution came before the plenary, Belgium again attempted to amend it to delete condemnation of NATO countries, but the move was again defeated by a recorded vote of 21 (U.S.) to 58, with 53 abstentions. The plenary Assembly then adopted the resolution, November 7, by a recorded vote of 113 to 3 (U.S.), with

18 abstentions. 100/

ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES AND WAYS AND MEANS WITHIN THE
UN SYSTEM FOR IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVE ENJOYMENT OF
HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

The call for improved implementation of human rights obligations is by now routine in the United Nations. The search for ways to achieve improvement continues. As part of this long-term effort, the Secretary General has prepared several reports on the UN human rights system over the years. The United States has repeatedly stressed the need for developing improved UN machinery which would produce more evenhanded UN action on human rights issues.

The question of the establishment of a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights has been under discussion since it was first proposed by Costa Rica at the 20th General Assembly in 1965. Since coming into force in 1976, the UN Human Rights Covenants have added to the proliferation of UN human rights reviewing groups, and reinforced the need to achieve better coordination and cooperation within the United Nations and with other specialized agencies in the human rights field.

Therefore, the United States welcomed a renewal of the proposal for a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights at the 32nd General Assembly. On November 22 in the Third Committee, Ambassador Wells (U.S.) stated that the question of alternative approaches for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights might "be the key" issue before the Assembly because mankind's interest was increasingly concerned with human rights. The United States urged the creation of the post of High Commissioner, not so much as an independent investigator but rather to extend the "good offices" role of the Secretary General, to coordinate the human rights organizations established in recent years, and to serve in the implementation of the two human rights covenants.

The proposal for a High Commissioner encountered obdurate opposition from the Soviet Union and other Communist members, which have traditionally opposed strong international human rights machinery. In addition many developing countries expressed fears that a powerful Human Rights High Commissioner would intervene in their domestic problems. Although this proposal had gained substantially wider and more diversified support than the earlier version, a Cuban procedural maneuver succeeded in transferring further consideration to the Human Rights Commission meeting in 1978. The proposal to postpone consideration of the item, was adopted by a rollcall vote of 62 to 49 (U.S.), with 21 abstentions.

Also before the Third Committee was a closely related draft resolution, introduced by Yugoslavia, the intent of which was to establish guidelines and priorities for the future of UN human rights work. Presumably, this would also provide guidance to any UN High Commissioner. The draft resolution proved attractive to the developing states. It tended to stress the priority of their

economic and social aspirations and to press the importance of group rights of great importance to them, such as self-determination.

This draft resolution on priorities posed a dilemma for the Western members. The United States has traditionally agreed that all human rights--including economic, social, and cultural rights--are important and, indeed, interdependent. However, U.S. human rights efforts have stressed the achievement of basic civil and political rights. In any case, the original text was regarded as highly unbalanced by many member states, including the United States. This group worked diligently and with some success to achieve improvements in the text of the draft. Nevertheless, several of the Western nations, including the United States, continued to share many reservations about the final draft and abstained in the vote.

The draft resolution was approved in the Third Committee, on December 5, by a rollcall vote of 126 to 0, with 11 abstentions (U.S.). In explanation of the U.S. vote, Ambassador Young explained that the resolution could be subject to unacceptable interpretations--certain paragraphs could be interpreted to imply that priority should be given to the advancement of particular segments of human rights over others, nor could the United States agree with any interpretation which could suggest that the realization of the New International Economic Order is a precondition to the effective advancement of human rights.

The resolution 101/was adopted in plenary on December 16 by a vote of 123 to 0, with 15 abstentions(U.S.).

THE PROBLEM OF TORTURE

Action to control torture was a major focus of attention during the 32nd General Assembly. It was not a new item. In 1975, after several years of consideration by UN bodies, the General Assembly adopted a Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. 102/ In 1976, the Commission on Human Rights asked its Subcommittee to prepare a body of principles to protect detained persons.

In 1977, the Commission asked for continuing study of this subject and that the Subcommittee submit to the 34th session of the Commission a comprehensive report on the elaboration of a body of principles. ECOSOC at its 62nd session recommended that the General Assembly approve a Code of Conduct for Law Enforcement Officials (see p. 131).

Since the Declaration in 1975, interest has focused on improving implementation of these emerging international standards. Torture continues to be a major human rights problem in a large number of countries. On April 19 at the 62nd session of ECOSOC, Ambassador

101/ Resolution 32/130.

102/ Resolution 3452 (XXX).

Young again suggested that an expert working group be established to monitor, report on, and make recommendations to deal with serious instances of torture.

At the General Assembly, in the Third Committee on November 2, the U.S. Representative, Edward M. Mezvinsky, stated that the United States considered torture to be ". . . one of the major obstacles in the modern world to the achievement of the full rights and freedoms to which we all subscribe. . . . The greatest allies of torture are indifference and skepticism that anything can be done to stop torture." Having supported the previous UN actions designed to limit torture, the United States now called for more effective implementation, including at least a yearly survey of the facts of torture around the world.

At the General Assembly there were several initiatives, including a Swedish proposal for an international convention, a Dutch proposal for a questionnaire to governments about torture, an Indian proposal for states to make unilateral declarations against torture, and a U.S. proposal for a working group to investigate allegations of torture. Although not formally submitted for consideration during the Assembly, the U.S. by its proposal demonstrated its serious concern and may well have facilitated the adoption of the three milder initiatives against torture. The three resolutions were approved by the Third Committee on November 9 and adopted without vote by the Assembly in plenary session on December 8. 103/

In addition, a resolution 104/condemning the conditions leading to the death in a South African prison of Steven Biko was adopted, on the recommendation of the Third Committee, also without vote. The U.S. Representative, Mr. Mezvinsky, speaking following the adoption of the resolution said:

" . . . Mr. Biko's death clearly resulted from a system which permits gross mistreatment and violation of the most basic human rights.

"Mr. President, my Government's support of draft resolution IV reflects both the hope of the American people that these senseless deaths will cease and our commitment to press for respect of human rights in South Africa."

PROTECTION OF DETAINED PERSONS

This item was considered by the Human Rights Commission in 1977 at three meetings. One of the more interesting developments was a U.S. proposal for a draft telegram to be sent to the Soviet Government in reaction to the arrest, by Soviet authorities, of Yuri Orlov. The telegram would have requested information, at the earliest opportunity, on circumstances surrounding the arrest and detention of persons in the U.S.S.R. active in the cause of pro-

103/ Resolutions 32/62, 32/63, and 32/64.

104/ Resolution 32/65.

moting human rights. It was pointed out that the Commission had frequently seen fit to inquire into the situation of human rights in other countries in similar instances. Therefore, this was in no way special. Nor did it constitute an inroad into détente.

Some Eastern European nations and some others, however, called this inadmissible interference in the domestic affairs of a sovereign state. It was also labeled a slanderous attack on the Soviet Union. Those states argued that it is the sovereign right of each state to enact legislation and to insure its implementation without any interference from outside. After a debate which involved a number of states, including some from the Third World, and which served to highlight important conceptual limitations of the Soviet human rights position, the United States did not press its request for a vote on the proposed telegram.

During its 30th session, the Subcommission considered a first draft of a body of principles for the protection of detained persons. The question of detention under "emergency powers" received wide discussion and the Subcommission requested further work on these issues as well as condemning countries still using arbitrary arrest, indefinite detention, torture, and the like.

In 1976, discussion of two draft resolutions in the Third Committee of the General Assembly dealing with the question of protection of persons detained or imprisoned led to an impasse eventually settled by a decision to postpone consideration of both until the 32nd General Assembly. One resolution, introduced by Sweden, had strong U.S. support. The other, introduced by the Byelorussian S.S.R., had been opposed by the United States.

As in the previous year, the United States supported the Swedish effort in the Third Committee to produce a more generally applicable draft resolution in support of the rights of political prisoners. The United States reemphasized that its overriding concern was not with the treatment of such persons in captivity, but with the fact that they were held at all. On December 8, the draft resolution was approved in the Third Committee without a vote; it was adopted by consensus in the plenary Assembly on December 16. 105/

At the General Assembly, the Byelorussian S.S.R., again introduced an unacceptable resolution on certain special groups of political prisoners in contrast to the more broadly applicable Swedish approach to the issue of political prisoners. The United States voted against this re-introduced draft resolution in the Third Committee where it was approved on December 9 by a vote of 69 to 17 (U.S.), with 28 abstentions, and adopted in the General Assembly on December 16 by a vote of 96 to 18 (U.S.), with 22 abstentions. 106/ The United States was unable to support this distortion of the original concepts of those pressing for a resolution in support of the human rights of political prisoners. In an explanation of vote in the plenary Assembly, Mr. Mezvinsky said

105/ Resolution 32/121.

106/ Resolution 32/122.

that the United States viewed the resolution as a largely political document, applying only to certain categories of prisoners, and failing to deal with the rights of all prisoners of conscience or even to call for the release of all political prisoners. The United States felt it could even be interpreted as calling for the release of terrorists and hijackers. The United States supported peaceful solutions to international problems and opposed any call recognizing the legitimacy of armed struggle. It would seem that this was an effort on the part of governments holding large numbers of political prisoners to subvert efforts by the United Nations to assure human rights and fundamental freedoms for such persons. The United Nations human rights machinery must be protected from such cynical misuse, lest the whole human rights effort be seriously undermined.

DECADE FOR ACTION TO COMBAT RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The United States is pledged to fight against racial discrimination. It has signed the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and President Carter has sent the treaty to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification. The Convention, which was opened for signature in 1965, has been in force for ratifying states since 1969. The Secretary General in his annual report announced that 95 states were parties as of June 1, 1977.

In 1977 U.S. representatives repeatedly stressed in various UN forums the strong desires of the United States to participate in the Decade and in the mid-Decade conference scheduled for 1978. The principal obstacle to U.S. participation continues to be the resolution adopted by the 30th General Assembly in 1975 which identified Zionism as a form of racism. The United States has declined to participate in debates or in voting on issues relevant to the Decade while this inappropriate link between Zionism and racism is maintained. Nevertheless, the United States has continued to fight racial discrimination and to seek for some way to break this link so that it could again participate fully in the activities of the Decade.

On May 12 ECOSOC adopted two resolutions on the Decade, each of which also incorporated a resolution recommended for adoption by the General Assembly. The first was a resolution on the implementation of the Decade and dealt principally with condemnation of the principles of apartheid. The second resolution had to do with the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, scheduled to be held August 14-25, 1978 at Geneva. Both resolutions were adopted, but the United States did not participate in the voting. The U.S. Representative, Ambassador Lowenstein, explained that the United States had not voted for the same reasons it had expressed previously. However, he commended the efforts which had led to the adoption at Geneva of the unanimous decision to declare 1978 International Anti-Apartheid Year (see p. 166) and felt certain that this decision would lead to future arrangements concentrating the struggle against apartheid and the worst forms of racism. In that way, he said, the Decade would emerge as the most suitable instrument of concerted action against those scourges, which were a menace to peace and the sense of justice.

In the General Assembly's Third Committee the resolution convening the World Conference at Geneva was approved by a vote of 108 to 1, with 5 abstentions. The United States did not participate in the voting.

In plenary Assembly on November 7, the United States did not participate in the resolution urging action on the Decade,¹⁰⁷/but did join a consensus on the resolution on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination.¹⁰⁸/ The United States abstained on the resolution on the Apartheid Convention.¹⁰⁹/ The vote on this was 101 to 0, with 25 abstentions.

On December 16, the plenary Assembly voted on the resolution ¹¹⁰/having to do with the World Conference. It was adopted by a vote of 131 to 1, with 1 abstention. Once again, the United States did not participate in the vote. In explaining the U.S. position, Mr. Mezvinsky commented on the lack of progress on this issue even though the United States had attempted to reach a formula whereby only matters in keeping with the original intent of the Decade would be raised during the 1978 World Conference on Racism.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

In the Proclamation of Tehran, adopted by the International Conference on Human Rights held in Tehran in 1968, the prospects for economic, social, and cultural progress opened up by science and technology were noted and so also were the possibilities for endangering human rights.

The matter was considered in 1977 by the Commission on Human Rights. The U.S. position has consistently been to seek to promote the advancement of science and technology, while assuring safeguards for the rights of all humans. The subject area is clearly very broad and also vulnerable to varying emphasis. One major interest has been assuring the beneficial use of chemical, medical, and psychological innovation. The Commission asked the Subcommission to investigate the formulation of guidelines to protect those detained on grounds of mental ill-health against treatment which might harm the human personality (Resolution 10 A (XXXIII)).

The Subcommission briefly considered the question of the impact of science and technology on human rights. It was noted that while the developed countries had begun several years earlier to feel uneasy about the fruits of innovation, the developing countries looked toward innovation as a principal source of hope for the future. Speakers from some states claimed there exists an inalienable right of equal access to accumulated knowledge, and the corresponding duty of states to place it at the service of humanity.

¹⁰⁷/ Resolution 32/10.

¹⁰⁸/ Resolution 32/11.

¹⁰⁹/ Resolution 32/12.

¹¹⁰/ Resolution 32/129.

However, many speakers agreed that other dimensions of the "quality of life," including a sound environment and an imperative need for peace, also have to be considered important.

The question was included in the agenda of the 32nd General Assembly. On December 9, the Third Committee approved without a vote a decision introduced by France that lack of time precluded consideration of the item and decided to postpone its consideration until the 33rd General Assembly. This decision was adopted without vote by the plenary Assembly on December 16.

SUBCOMMISSION ON PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION AND PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

In addition to items already discussed, the Subcommittee dealt with several other significant issues during its 30th session.

On August 31, the Subcommittee adopted without vote two resolutions based on an expert's report on ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities. The first recommended that the Human Rights Commission consider drafting a declaration on the rights of members of minorities, within the framework of the principles set forth in Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

The second concerned the plight of gypsies (Roma) and appealed to those countries which have gypsies within their borders to accord to them, if they have not yet done so, all the rights that are enjoyed by the rest of the population.

Under its agenda item entitled "Problem of the applicability of existing international provisions for the protection of human rights," the Subcommittee had for consideration a Special Rapporteur's study on this issue, to which was annexed a draft declaration on the protection of human rights of individuals who are not citizens of the country in which they live. In commenting on the study, some insisted that a minimum international standard applied to aliens. Others denied this as unrealistic in the current context. A resolution introduced by U.S. expert, Ambassador Carter, expressed appreciation for the study, asked the Secretary General to circulate the draft declaration to governments for study and comment, and requested the Special Rapporteur to present a new draft declaration to the Subcommittee in 1978, taking into account the replies of governments and the views expressed during the current session. The resolution was adopted by 17 (U.S.) to 1, with 4 abstentions.

In another significant action, the Subcommittee asked the Commission on Human Rights to seek authorization for the establishment of a five-member working group to prepare "a revised draft body of principles" to protect "all persons under any form of imprisonment."

The Subcommittee also appointed two Special Rapporteurs to prepare "a study in outline" of the "implications for human rights" of situations "known as state of siege or emergency." The Subcommittee asked for an up-dated version of a report relating to the right to self-determination of people under colonial or alien

domination, and recommended that several relevant studies prepared for the Subcommittee should be made available to participants in the August 1978 World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, as part of the Decade (1973-83) on this theme.

OTHER ASSEMBLY RESOLUTIONS

Several other human rights issues were considered by the 32nd General Assembly during the course of its review of the Report of ECOSOC. The problem of missing persons in Cyprus was taken up. The Chairman of the Third Committee proposed a consolidated text of two draft resolutions, one of which had been submitted by 16 countries and the other by Turkey. The consolidated draft requested the Secretary General to provide his good offices to support the establishment of an investigatory body with the participation of the International Committee of the Red Cross and invited the concerned parties to continue to cooperate in working toward resolving their problems expeditiously. The resolution was approved in the Third Committee without vote on December 12 and adopted without vote in the plenary Assembly on December 16. 111/

In 1977, ECOSOC recommended that a study be made by the Human Rights Commission and the ILO of the migrant worker situation. The General Assembly has also considered the matter at two sessions on the basis of Mexican initiatives. On December 1, the representative of Algeria introduced a resolution sponsored by 21 countries which called upon all states, taking into account the provisions of, inter alia, the relevant instruments adopted by the ILO, to take measures to improve the situation and ensure the human rights and dignity of all migrant workers.

The resolution was approved by the Third Committee without vote on December 7 and adopted by the plenary Assembly on December 16 without vote. 112/

The year 1978 marks the 30th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Among other things, a special commemorative meeting, a set of updated versions of popular UN publications on human rights, and a special human rights seminar were planned for the year. The United States was active in developing and supporting plans for a significant celebration of this anniversary.

The resolution pertaining to this celebration had been introduced in the Third Committee on December 6 by Austria on behalf of 27 sponsors, including the United States. It was approved in the Third Committee without a vote on December 9 and adopted on December 16, also without a vote, in the plenary Assembly. 113/ In a statement to the General Assembly on December 20, Ambassador Young said:

111/ Resolution 32/128.

112/ Resolution 32/120.

113/ Resolution 32/123.

"Next year we will mark the 30th anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Its adoption was accomplished at a very early stage of the life of this Organization. It was virtually our first priority in those days. While there has been some progress in human rights since then, we still have a long way to go. There are still far too many abuses. As we mark this significant anniversary, let us restore to high priority this Organization's concern for human rights and let us resolve that next year's General Assembly will be a high point for constructive collective action to advance this vital cause."

STATUS OF WOMEN

The Commission on the Status of Women, which meets on a biennial basis, did not meet during 1977. However, the 62nd session of ECOSOC considered the Commission's report on its 26th and resumed 26th sessions which had been held in late 1976--from September 13 to October 1 and from December 6 to 17. The principal items discussed were (1) the Draft Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women; (2) aspects of the program for the implementation of the objectives of the International Women's Year, 1975; and (3) the influence of the mass communications media on attitudes toward the roles of men and women in present-day society.

Draft Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

The draft Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, adopted by the Commission on the Status of Women in December 1976, defines discrimination against women as:

"... any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect of or the purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women on a basis of equality with men, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life."

The Convention is intended to condemn discrimination against women and undertake to pursue a policy of elimination of such discrimination. It is designed to "ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men." Adoption of temporary special measures in favor of women and measures with respect to maternity benefits would not be considered discriminatory within the provisions of the Convention.

To oversee implementation of the Convention, the text provides for the establishment of an ad hoc Group of 10 to 15 persons elected by the Commission on the Status of Women from among its own membership who are states parties to the Convention and from an additional list of persons nominated by states parties to the Convention who are not members of the Commission, consideration being given to the principle of equitable geographic distribution and representation of differing legal systems. Those elected would serve in their

personal capacities for a term of two years. The Group would consider reports of the states parties and make general recommendations.

ECOSOC on May 12 adopted without vote a resolution 114/by which it submitted the draft Convention to the General Assembly for consideration at its 32nd session. In so doing, the Council invited member states and the specialized agencies to present their comments on the draft Convention to the Secretary General to be transmitted to the Assembly in advance of its session.

In accordance with the recommendation of ECOSOC that it take up consideration of the draft Convention as a matter of urgency at the outset of its 32nd session, with a view to its adoption at that session, a working group was established by a decision of the Third Committee on October 19 with the purpose of considering and finalizing the draft Convention. The Working Group held 12 meetings from October 21 to December 2. Owing to lack of time, the Working Group was able only to consider the title, introductory paragraphs, and the first 10 articles of the draft Convention.

The Working Group reported its results to the Third Committee on December 8. On December 9, Tunisia introduced a draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by 25 states, that noted with satisfaction the Working Group's report, recommended that the Working Group be re-established at the beginning of the 33rd session to consider the articles which were not completed at the 32nd session, with the hope that the draft Convention will be adopted during the 33rd session of the General Assembly.

The Third Committee approved the draft resolution on December 9 without vote, and the General Assembly adopted it on December 16, also without vote. 115/

UN Decade for Women

The 30th General Assembly in 1975 declared the 10 years 1976-1985 to be the "UN Decade for Women: Equality, Development, and Peace," and decided to hold a mid-term conference in 1980 to evaluate the progress made in implementing the objectives of the International Women's Year, which was held in 1975.

ECOSOC Consideration

The overall program for the UN Decade for Women, having been adopted by the General Assembly at its 31st session, 116/ECOSOC in 1977 addressed itself to consideration of specific aspects of the Decade and the subject of the "Influence of the mass communications media on the attitudes towards the roles of women and men in present-day society." ECOSOC, on May 12, adopted five resolutions that

114/ Resolution 2058 (LXII).

115/ Resolution 32/136.

116/ Resolution 31/136.

had previously been approved by the Commission on the Status of Women. All were adopted without vote.

One of these, 117/sponsored in the Commission by the United States and three others, was designed to facilitate the participation of women in the formulation and implementation of development planning at local, national, regional, and international levels. To this end, the UNDP and the specialized agencies are invited to organize training programs for women related to the planning, evaluation, and management of development projects. Such programs would be aimed at teaching women how to look for community needs and formulate a project plan, identify good project suggestions, determine priorities, write proposals, raise funds, locate and develop management skills among women for implementing and evaluating projects, ensure timely and appropriate implementation, and evaluate progress. It recommended that states promote equal opportunities for the participation of women in such training programs, and that this kind of training be considered as a possible program of the planned International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women. The Secretary General was requested to report on all these matters to the Commission on the Status of Women in 1978 and to the World Conference on the UN Decade for Women in 1980.

Another resolution, 118/which was sponsored by Iran and eight others, identified areas of the World Plan of Action that needed urgent action to meet the minimum targets set for 1980. Some of those actions include: (1) enactment of legislation guaranteeing equality and non-discrimination on grounds of sex; (2) measures to inform women of their rights and help them exercise those rights; (3) the establishment of goals and strategies to increase the participation of women in decision making; (4) the establishment of target dates for the elimination of illiteracy; (5) the provision of life-long and continuing education and training for women; and (6) the expansion and creation of employment opportunities for women. It requested the Secretary General to submit questionnaires to states in 1977 and 1979 asking them what had been done to implement the World Plan of Action, and to report the information to the Commission on the Status of Women and to the 1980 World Conference of the UN Decade for Women.

A third resolution, 119/which was sponsored by eight states including the United States, requested the Statistical Commission to continue its cooperation with other bodies to develop improved methods for collecting and tabulating data, as well as guidelines and methods for assessing the participation of women in planning and decision making and for measuring their economic and social contributions in order to facilitate the review and appraisal of the implementation of the World Plan of Action.

The fourth resolution, 120/sponsored in the Commission by Iran

117/ Resolution 2059 (LXII).

118/ Resolution 2060 (LXII).

and eight others, provided for the establishment of a preparatory committee of not more than 23 members, on the basis of equitable geographic distribution, to make recommendations concerning the substantive and organizational arrangements. It requested that the Commission of the Status of Women at its 27th session in 1978 give the highest priority to the question of preparatory work for the Conference, and invited the regional commissions to consider ways of making an effective contribution to the Conference, including the possibility of holding before 1980 regional seminars or meetings on the theme of the Conference.

The final resolution, 121/entitled "Influence of the mass communications media on attitudes towards the roles of women and men in present-day society," of which the United States was one of four sponsors, encouraged member states to make representatives of mass communications media aware of the importance of formulating policies and guidelines for the treatment of women in the media. In its final form, it recommended, among other things, (1) a review of employment policies to ensure that there is no discrimination against women; (2) the portrayal in the media of the roles and achievements of women from all walks of life; (3) the presentation of programs and publication of materials which ensure the elimination of sex-role stereotyping; (4) that states encourage educational institutions to make greater use of the media for the formation of new attitudes about the role of men and women in society; (5) that states create committees, drawn from both the private and public sectors, to advise and meet with media staff to discuss and evaluate progress toward changing the image and status of women in the media. The resolution also recommended the appointment of a special rapporteur to prepare a study on the subject, with a progress report to be submitted to the 27th session of the Commission on the Status of Women in 1978 and a comprehensive report to the 28th session in 1980.

ECOSOC decided to defer action on two of the draft resolutions the Commission had forwarded to it for adoption. The first concerned the role of nongovernmental organizations in the implementation of the World Plan of Action. The second dealt with the inclusion in the work program of the Commission the consideration of private communications relating to the status of women. Consideration of these two controversial items was deferred pending action by the General Assembly on the draft Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women.

General Assembly Consideration

The Third Committee of the General Assembly considered various aspects of the UN Decade for Women at 13 meetings from October 13

(footnotes continued from p. 178)

119 / Resolution 2061 (LXII).

120 / Resolution 2062 (LXII).

121 / Resolution 2063 (LXII).

to December 9. In addition to the resolution concerning the draft Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (see above); it approved six resolutions, all but one without vote, which were subsequently adopted by the Assembly on December 16, again all but one without vote.

The first resolution, 122/sponsored by 34 states including the United States, noted the efforts made so far by the Secretary General toward the establishment of an International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women. It requested that he continue those efforts and prepare, in consultation with the competent bodies of the host country (Iran), the competent organs and institutions of the UN system, and the regional commissions concerned, a draft document describing the structure, composition, and responsibilities of the Institute.

The second resolution, 123/introduced by Tunisia on behalf of its 34 sponsors, noted the measures already taken by the Secretary General for the implementation of the Program for the Decade, and emphasized that constant and increasing efforts must be made at the national, regional, and international levels to attain the objectives of the Decade. It requested that the Secretary General submit a study of the interagency program for the Decade to the 33rd session of the General Assembly, and that he update the study at two year intervals.

Another resolution, 124/sponsored by Morocco and 17 other states, expressed its thanks to the Secretary General for having convened the first Pledging Conference for the UN Decade for Women, held at UN Headquarters on November 8. It also requested that he convene during the 33rd session of the General Assembly, a second pledging conference for contributions to the Voluntary Fund for the UN Decade for Women and to the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women.

A fourth resolution, 125/sponsored by Egypt and 32 other states, accepted the offer of Iran to act as host to the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women, and noted that the Conference would in principle be held in Tehran in May 1980 for a period of two weeks. It also determined that the first session of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference be held at UN Headquarters in June 1978.

The fifth resolution, 126/introduced by the United States and sponsored by 26 other states, expressed the hope that the projects already approved by the Consultative Committee on the Voluntary Fund for the UN Decade for Women will be implemented as soon as possible, and urged the specialized agencies and other UN bodies

122/ Resolution 32/137.

123/ Resolution 32/138.

124/ Resolution 32/139.

125/ Resolution 32/140.

126/ Resolution 32/141.

concerned, including UNDP, to assist the regional commissions in formulating projects designed in connection with the Decade, with a view to submitting them to the Consultative Committee.

The final resolution, 127/sponsored by the German Democratic Republic and six other states, inter alia, reaffirmed the objectives of the Decade and of the Declaration of Mexico; 128/called upon all states to continue their efforts to encourage the participation of women in the strengthening of international peace, extend the process of international détente, curb the arms race and take measures for disarmament; and invited all states to support women exposed to colonialism, racism, and apartheid in their struggle. It requested the Commission on the Status of Women to consider the elaboration of a draft declaration on the participation of women in the struggle for the strengthening of international peace and security and against colonialism, racism, racial discrimination, foreign aggression and occupation and all forms of foreign domination. The resolution, which the United States viewed as doing little to advance the objectives of the Decade, was approved by the Third Committee by a vote of 53 to 19 (U.S.), with 52 abstentions, and adopted by the Assembly by a recorded vote of 71 to 19 (U.S.), with 46 abstentions.

127/ Resolution 32/142.

128/ "The Declaration of Mexico on the Equality of Women and Their Contribution to Development and Peace" was adopted at the World Conference of the International Women's Year, 1975.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND THE IAEA

INTERNATIONAL FUND FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The Agreement establishing the International Fund for Agricultural Development entered into force on November 30, 3 years after the World Food Conference first urged its creation. The United States had deposited its instrument of acceptance on October 4. At the end of the year 87 states were members of the new organization. Following approval of the relationship agreement between the United Nations and IFAD, the Fund became the 15th UN specialized agency on December 15.

Two sessions of the IFAD Preparatory Commission, the third and fourth, were held in 1977. At the third session (April 4-8), the Commission approved an interpretive note to be submitted to ECOSOC concerning IFAD's proposed relationship agreement with the United Nations. ECOSOC had indicated uneasiness that the initial IFAD draft envisioned an agency too divorced from the rest of the UN system. The note, based mainly on a draft submitted by the United States, indicated that, in accordance with IFAD's articles of agreement stipulating it should work through existing UN and non-UN agencies, the Fund expected to coordinate closely with UN agencies and programs, and with respect to personnel matters it would use the "UN Common System of Salaries, Allowances, and Other Conditions of Service" to the maximum extent possible. The Commission also approved (1) draft rules of procedure for the Governing Council and Executive Board, (2) the lending policies and criteria that had been worked out by an expert group in February, and (3) draft by-laws for the conduct of the business of the Fund.

The approved lending criteria represented a careful balancing of a variety of donor and recipient concerns, both in relation to the kinds of loans IFAD would consider and the terms. The Commission agreed that IFAD's loans should go primarily to projects for small-farmer development rather than for large capital development schemes. There will be an attempt to accelerate the project cycle and to incorporate into the project design criteria whereby the Fund can measure the actual social and economic benefits of the projects for the beneficiaries.

The Commission also reviewed and proposed a number of amendments to the draft relationship agreement with cooperating institutions. Because the Agreement establishing IFAD stipulates that it should cooperate closely with other international agencies and use such institutions to administer loans, these agreements are of great importance. The United States participated actively in the discussions in order to ensure agreements compatible with the mandates of the various institutions. The Commission believed it important that there be clear acknowledgment that IFAD had ultimate responsibility for projects it financed, that its staff could participate selectively with the cooperating institution's staff in any stage of the project cycle, and that IFAD should only reimburse the cooperating institutions for costs additional to the institutions' normal operating

overheads.

The ECOSOC Committee on Negotiations with Intergovernmental Organizations met for 3 weeks in April and May to negotiate with the IFAD Preparatory Commission¹²⁹ and two Vice Chairmen¹³⁰ a relationship agreement acceptable to both the United Nations and IFAD. Many delegations in New York, especially from developing countries, were of the view that IFAD's proposed agreement too closely paralleled that of the World Bank and therefore did not adequately reflect efforts made with the newer agencies to achieve a closer relationship with the United Nations. While agreeing with a number of points made by the developing countries and others, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, and France strongly supported IFAD efforts to resist undue UN influence on its operations. The text ultimately adopted recognizes the responsibility of ECOSOC and the General Assembly under the UN Charter to give broad policy leadership to all elements of the UN system while preserving IFAD's independence in its financial operations. On August 3 the 63rd ECOSOC took note of the relationship agreement and recommended that the General Assembly approve it. The IFAD Governing Council on December 13 and the UN General Assembly on December 14 131/approved the agreement.

The fourth session of the Preparatory Commission (July 11-15) approved the draft agreements with cooperating institutions and the agreement for the provisional headquarters of IFAD. It decided that the personnel manual proposed by the interim secretariat should conform to that of the UN common system, except for the salary structure which should seek to combine the professional and general service pay scales of the United Nations. There was considerable discussion of the proposed administrative budget and projected staff requirements. Agreement was finally reached that the IFAD staff would not exceed 44 professionals during the first 18 months of its operation. It was also agreed that most staff would have fixed-term contracts rather than tenured positions. Support staff was also to be limited, since IFAD will rely on contract services to do much of the general service work. In agreeing to a very limited staff it was understood that the average of salaries might seem somewhat high, but the Commission believed that would be necessary to attract managers able to span the several areas that each would cover.

The first IFAD Governing Council (on which each member is represented) met in Rome, December 13-16. The Executive Board (composed of 18 members who serve 3-year terms) met for the first time December 14-15. AID Administrator John J. Gilligan, whom President Carter had appointed as U.S. Governor to IFAD, led the U.S. delegation. The Council elected Ambassador Abdelmuhsin Al-Sudeary to a 3-year term as President of IFAD. Philip Birnbaum was subsequently appointed Vice President. The Governing Council and the Executive Board adopted, with only minor modifications, the

129/ Abdelmuhsin Al-Sudeary (Saudi Arabia).

130/ Philip Birnbaum (U.S.) and Jean Camara (Guinea).

131/ Resolution 32/107.

operating documents prepared by the Preparatory Commission.

There was considerable discussion in both the Executive Board and the Council of the proposed lending criteria. Latin American representatives objected that there was too great an emphasis on assistance to the poorest countries and that the focus on small-farmer development might prevent Latin America from obtaining a large enough share of loans. There was also wide discussion of the terms for loans. The Council decided to accept the proposed lending criteria, but to continue discussions in the Executive Board during 1978.

The Executive Board considered at length procedures for drawing down contributions. A number of members, led by Kuwait, urged that for those nations who planned to make their contributions in three installments (by promissory note), the full amount should be encashed at the beginning of the financial period in order that interest income could be used to defray administrative expenses. The United States and United Kingdom strongly objected that the agreement establishing IFAD provided draw-downs could be made only to cover expenditures for the current fiscal period, and that this limited the rate at which promissory notes could be encashed. When unable to reach a decision on this question, the Board deferred a decision until its next meeting. However, the financial regulations subsequently adopted by consensus in the Governing Council helped support the position that draw-downs should be for expenditures only, and made clear that members have the choice of paying in their contributions either in cash or in promissory notes.

Despite the disagreement of a number of developing countries, it was decided that IFAD should adopt the UN common system salary scale. Final decision on the actual conditions of service and the personnel manual were deferred until the new IFAD Secretariat could hold talks with the International Civil Service Commission. However, it was agreed that IFAD employees would participate in the UN Joint Pension Fund, a decision endorsed by the UN General Assembly without vote on December 13.^{132/}

The question of the permanent seat of IFAD remained open throughout the year. Most developed countries preferred the seat to remain in Rome, which is the provisional seat. Iran suggested Tehran as the permanent seat. The U.S. view, that the decision should be made in conjunction with any eventual decision on replenishment of resources, was substantially approved by the Governing Council. President Al-Sudeary will suggest to the next Governing Council a process to evaluate the various offers, and in the light of that review the Governing Council will try to reach a decision at its third session, in 1979.

^{132/} Resolution 32/102.

WORLD BANK GROUP

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and
International Development Association

During 1977 IBRD membership increased to 130 countries, with the addition of Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe. Both countries also joined IDA, as did the Comoros, bringing total IDA membership to 119.

During its fiscal 1977 (ending June 30, 1977) the IBRD approved 161 new loans to 54 countries, in the amount of \$5.759 billion--an increase of 15.7% over the previous year. IDA approved 67 new credits in 36 countries, in the amount of \$1.308 billion--a decline of 21% from the previous year. Disbursements by both institutions increased during FY 1977, the IBRD's by \$166 million (6.7%) to \$2.636 billion, and IDA's by \$46 million (3.7%) to \$1.298 billion.

The IBRD's selective capital increase took effect May 13, 1977. New subscriptions authorized by the increase total approximately \$8.4 billion, of which the U.S. share is about \$1.56 billion. P.L. 95-118, signed by the President on October 3, 1977, authorized the U.S. subscription to an additional 13,005 shares of stock of the IBRD (valued at approximately \$1.568 billion), but stipulated that the U.S. subscription could be made only after the amount required had been appropriated. On January 17, 1977, the Administration requested an appropriation of \$523 million in FY 1978 for the initial subscription. However, in P.L. 95-148, approved October 31, the Congress appropriated only \$380 million. The Administration planned to request an appropriation of \$666 in U.S. FY 1979 for its second subscription under the increase.

Assuming the selective increase is fully subscribed, the IBRD will be able to maintain an annual lending level of \$5.8 billion indefinitely without recourse to further capital increases. However, IBRD management has proposed (in addition to the selective capital increase) a general capital increase which would allow the Bank to expand its lending program in real terms. In his address on September 26 to the annual meeting of the World Bank and the IMF, held in Washington, President Carter stated his "hope that the negotiations for a major, general capital increase will permit the World Bank to increase the level of its lending in real terms." Preliminary, informal discussions about such a capital increase have begun among the IBRD's Executive Directors and management. The Administration planned to develop a formal negotiating position in close consultation with the Congress to ensure that any U.S. pledge to such an increase would be sustainable. In the meantime, the IBRD expected new commitments during its FY 1978 to approximate \$6.1 billion, compared to the \$5.759 billion of 1977.

Negotiations for the fifth replenishment of IDA resources were concluded in March 1977. The fifth replenishment (IDA V) is to cover the 3 years beginning July 1, 1977. Total donor contributions will be approximately \$7.6 billion--an increase of 84% over the approximately \$4.15 billion available under the fourth replenishment. The U.S. share is to be \$2.4 billion. If, as in the past, the IBRD

makes annual transfers to IDA of some \$100 million from the IBRD's net income, total resources available to IDA during the 3-year period will be about \$7.9 billion. The size of the fifth replenishment represents a significant real increase over the fourth.

IDA V was to have taken effect July 1, 1977. However, the United States had not by that time been able to give IDA the commitment to participate which was necessary for the replenishment to take effect. A "bridging arrangement" under which some donors agreed to make funds available in advance of the fifth replenishment allowed IDA to continue to make new commitments without interruption.

P.L. 95-118 authorized payment to IDA of the full U.S. contribution of \$2.4 billion, subject to obtaining the necessary appropriations Congress, by P.L. 95-148, appropriated \$800 million--the first of three tranches--for this purpose. The United States then gave formal notification to IDA of its participation, and the fifth replenishment took effect on November 29, 1977.

The Congress did not appropriate during 1977 the \$375 million which the Administration had requested as the third of its four tranches to IDA IV. The United States thus fell behind schedule in fulfilling its commitment to the fourth replenishment. The Administration planned to request in FY 1979 an appropriation of \$750 million for the final two tranches of IDA IV as well as \$800 million for the second tranche of IDA V.

The IBRD continued to borrow in the capital markets of many countries to finance the bulk of its lending operations. During FY 1977 total borrowing amounted to \$4.721 billion (compared to \$3.811 billion the preceding year). The United States was the largest source of funds, with \$1.85 billion raised in the U.S. market. Other major sources were the Federal Republic of Germany (\$1.39 billion) and Switzerland (\$502 million). Borrowings from petroleum exporting countries amounted to \$395 million, down \$50 million from the FY 1976 level and down nearly \$1.6 billion from the FY 1975 level. The IBRD planned to intensify its efforts to borrow in the markets of these countries.

In mid-1977 the IBRD and IDA decided to increase their development efforts in the fuels and non-fuel minerals sectors. Other adjustments in the sectoral composition of Bank and IDA lending were also made. However, the Bank noted in its annual report that changes in the regional distribution and sectoral composition did not reveal fully the reorientation which was making the Bank's operations more responsive to the development objectives of its member countries. This reorientation could be illustrated both at the level of general development strategy and in specific project design.

". . . The Bank has found that the benefits of growth cannot be assumed to 'trickle down' automatically; to ensure that development benefits the poorest, it must deliberately be directed to the poorest. The focus now, therefore, is increasingly on identifying the poorest sections of society and on improving their productivity and income levels directly. In designing specific projects, these concerns have led the Bank not only into new sectors of lending, but also into a

reorientation of projects in 'traditional' sectors. These 'new style' projects are subjected to the same rigorous tests of financial and economic soundness, however, and rates of return estimates show them to be no less high than projects approved by the Bank in the past. Financing for industrial development is shifting toward small-scale enterprises. Infrastructure projects frequently include rural feeder roads, or electricity, or water supply for poor urban communities."

The Bank noted that there was an increasing tendency for loans and credits to incorporate subcomponents from other sectors, sometimes experimental and modest in size, so that new techniques could be tried and the benefits of a multi-sectoral approach tested. At the same time, lending for "traditional" projects remained an important part of Bank operations and proved best for the needs of many Bank borrowers.

Combined development lending by the IBRD and IDA in FY 1977 had the following sectoral composition:

<u>Sector</u>	<u>Amount</u> <u>(Millions)</u>	<u>Percent</u> <u>of Total</u>
Agriculture and Rural Development	\$2,307.9	32.6
Development Finance Companies	756.2	10.7
Education	288.6	4.1
Electric Power	951.5	13.5
Industry	736.8	10.4
Nonproject	216.5	3.1
Population and Nutrition	47.3	0.7
Technical Assistance	16.9	0.2
Telecommunications	140.0	2.0
Tourism	98.6	1.4
Transportation	1,047.6	14.8
Urbanization	158.2	2.2
Water Supply and Sewerage	300.7	4.3
TOTAL	\$7,066.8	100.0

International Finance Corporation

Membership in the IFC rose to 107 countries during 1977 with the admission of Guinea-Bissau and the United Arab Emirates.

The third member of the World Bank Group, the IFC assists the economic development of its less developed member countries by promoting the growth of their economies' private sectors. It performs this function by making loans to, and equity investments in, productive private enterprises when sufficient private capital is not available on reasonable terms. It makes these loans and investments without requiring guarantee of payment by the member governments concerned. The IFC also performs a syndication function by seeking to bring together investment opportunities, domestic and foreign private capital, and experienced management. Finally, it seeks to develop local and regional capital markets and to promote privately owned development finance corporations. Since a major

contribution to development can come from the private sector, the IFC's operations are an essential complement to the lending operations of the IBRD and IDA.

An increase of \$540 million in the IFC's authorized capital came into effect November 2, 1977. Of this amount, the IFC plans initially to allocate \$480 million for additional subscriptions by members. The U.S. subscription would be \$111.5 million. This is the first increase in the IFC's capital since its founding in 1956, and it will allow annual IFC commitments to grow substantially in real terms in the years ahead.

P.L. 95-118 authorized U.S. participation in the capital increase, subject to obtaining the necessary appropriations. The Administration requested an appropriation of \$44.6 million for an initial subscription, but Congress appropriated only \$38 million. The Administration planned to request an appropriation of \$40 million in FY 1979.

In January 1977, the IFC Directors reviewed, in the context of the anticipated capital increase, the activities and directions that the Corporation should pursue. Strong emphasis was given to the IFC's role as a development institution. It was concluded that the capital increase should permit not only a considerable expansion in the number and volume of operations, but also a wider range of activity.

The catalytic role of IFC will continue to be a vital one in the years ahead. In its FY 1977 annual report, the Corporation expressed the hope that it would be able to mobilize from commercial financial institutions an increasing flow of participations in its own investments, a function which would help enterprises from developing countries to improve their access to international capital markets. The Corporation hoped to increase substantially the number of its operations in the smaller and economically least developed among its members in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, and it would continue to emphasize the needs of the semi-industrialized countries.

During its FY 1977 the IFC made new loan and equity commitments of \$206.7 million to 35 enterprises in 20 countries. Because others, concurrently with the IFC, invested \$894 million in those same enterprises and because an additional \$68 million was provided by internal cash generation, the total cost of the projects to which IFC made commitments during the year was \$1.169 billion. Sectors assisted by the IFC were development finance companies, food and food processing, manufacturing, textiles, mining, capital markets, pulp and paper, utilities, construction materials, and iron and steel.

Effects of P.L. 95-118

P.L. 95-118, the legislation authorizing increased participation by the United States in the international development lending institutions,^{133/} contained several provisions which will affect U.S. conduct

^{133/} IBRD, IDA, IFC, Inter-American Development Bank, African Development Fund, Asian Development Bank and Asian Development Fund.

with respect to those organizations. For example, the legislation stipulates that the U.S. Government, in connection with its voice and vote, shall advance the cause of human rights, including by seeking to channel assistance toward countries other than those whose governments (1) engage in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights or (2) provide refuge to individuals committing acts of international terrorism by hijacking aircraft. The U.S. Executive Directors in the institutions "are authorized and instructed to oppose any loan, any extension of financial assistance, or any technical assistance to [such a country] . . . unless such assistance is directed specifically to programs which serve the basic human needs of the citizens of such country."

The law further provides that the United States, "with its voice and vote," shall (1) seek to channel assistance to projects which address basic human needs; (2) promote the development and utilization of light capital technologies, otherwise known as intermediate, appropriate, or village technologies; and (3) seek to channel assistance for agriculturally related development to projects that would aid in fulfilling domestic food and nutrition needs and in alleviating hunger and malnutrition. At the same time, U.S. representatives to the institutions are to oppose any loan or other financial assistance for establishing or expanding production for export of palm oil, sugar, or citrus crops if such loan or assistance will cause injury to U.S. producers of the same, similar, or competing agricultural commodity.

In the development of the appropriation act following P.L. 95-118, specific restrictions were included to forbid the use of any of the appropriated funds to finance directly any assistance to Uganda, Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola, or Cuba. In an October 6 letter to Congressman Clarence Long, Chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, President Carter said "I shall instruct the U.S. Executive Directors in the banks to oppose and vote against, throughout FY 1978, any loans to the seven countries mentioned in the House amendments. Our representatives will also oppose and vote against loans for the production of the three commodities where such production is for export and could injure producers in the United States."

FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION

FAO's 19th biennial Conference, held in Rome, November 12-December 1, 1977, admitted eight new members--Angola, Comoros, North Korea, Djibouti, Mozambique, Namibia (represented by the UN Council for Namibia), Sao Tome and Principe, and Seychelles--bringing total membership to 144. While most of the elections were without controversy, there was considerable discussion of the appropriateness of admitting Namibia prior to its obtaining independence. The vote on Namibian admission was 112 to 11, with 4 abstentions (U.S.).

This Conference marked the end of 2 years of Dr. Edouard Saouma's term as Director General. It was the first time the program of work and budget fully represented the priorities set by him and endorsed by the special FAO Council meeting in 1976. By a vote of 103 to 0,

with 8 abstentions (U.S.), the Conference approved a program budget of \$211,350,000 for the 1978-79 biennium. This budget provides only for the regular program activities of the organization, while much larger extrabudgetary sums from the UNDP, other organizations, and governments provide financing for field activities or special projects. A number of the developed countries, including the United States, believed that the more than 25% increase from the \$167 million budget for 1976-77 was too large. Real growth was over 8%. Following the budget's adoption, a sizeable number of developed countries joined in a statement delivered by the Belgian Representative that expressed concern about the large increase, cautioned the Director General to present more modest proposals in the future, and expressed a willingness to work with him on a better delineation of priorities and objectives.

Addressing the Conference on November 15, the Secretary of Agriculture, Bob Bergland, urged FAO to "exercise the leading international role in combating hunger and malnutrition." He said:

"We believe FAO activities should be directed principally to agricultural development and the eradication of hunger in developing countries. Concern for freedom from hunger--the right to food--should become the overwhelming concern of FAO and, therefore, its operations should reflect this priority."

Secretary Bergland reiterated the U.S. view that FAO should concentrate more of its resources on food production and consumption problems of developing countries. In this process, emphasis should be placed on facilitating access to food by the poor of the developing countries and particularly those in the poorest of these countries. He said that FAO should develop policies and programs to increase food production in a way that will have a direct impact on human nutrition, improve marketing and consumption practices, and attain more equitable distribution.

World Food Situation

The general conclusion at the 1977 Conference was that the world food and agricultural situation has improved considerably in 1976-77 but that longer term problems remain. Although worldwide food production and stocks increased in 1977, international cooperative action was still needed to increase agricultural production in the developing countries and to create an international grain reserve system. Some difficult problem areas were seen to remain, particularly in Africa's Sahelian region. The longer-term situation was viewed as complicated by the fact that population still was growing faster than agricultural production in many parts of the world.

Prevention of Food Losses

A major proposal strongly supported by all members was to set up a \$20 million program to help developing countries combat food losses. It will initially concentrate on reducing losses in staple foods and promoting village-level projects to provide simple facilities and basic training. Plans cover the introduction of small-farm storage arrangements, community storage, small-scale grain driers and rice mills, pest control training for storekeepers, and

integrated rodent-control programs. These will be model projects intended to demonstrate possible food savings, thus setting the stage for more comprehensive programs to be funded by the countries themselves, the UNDP, or international financial institutions.

While projects will deal with both pre- and post-harvest losses, preeminent attention will be on the latter. The program will deal with food grains and root crops, and focus on the village level.

As a result of considerable pressure by the United States and other donor countries, FAO agreed not to press for the program to be financed by a transfer of monies accumulated in a Special Reserve Account for 1976-77. Instead, the Conference agreed that the funding should be entirely voluntary, although members who so wished could have their share of the Special Reserve Account transferred to the program. The United States, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, and Poland asked the return of their monies, however.

Investment in Agricultural Development

In addition to promoting agricultural investment, FAO helped members prepare preinvestment projects for multilateral, regional, and national financing. Forty-five such projects led to total investments exceeding \$1,720 million in 1977. Loans for these projects from multilateral agencies amounted to \$805 million. At the end of 1977 the newly formed IFAD became operational, and early in 1978 it began making disbursements for food and agricultural projects on concessional terms. FAO agreed to work closely with this new specialized agency.

FAO's Investment Center, working in conjunction with the IBRD, carried out work in behalf of countries which qualified for credits from IDA. In Sri Lanka, a joint FAO-IBRD analysis led to an IDA credit of \$19 million to support a project in the country's north-central dry zone that is expected to increase annual food production by some 50,000 tons of foodgrains and other crops, reduce unemployment by creating 12,000 full-time agricultural jobs, improve income distribution, and strengthen extension services. Canada, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States agreed to cofinance this \$100-million project to an amount of \$23 million.

Under FAO's Cooperative Program with Regional Banks, technical assistance undertaken for the African Development Bank and Fund assisted livestock production in Benin, Guinea-Bissau, and Mauritius; rice production in Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Mali, and Tanzania; sugar production in Kenya; and the development of fishing ports in Guinea and Mozambique. Three projects were approved for financing in 1977 with total investment costs of \$101 million.

Joint investment work with the Inter-American Development Bank was mainly concerned with fisheries. Two such projects, in El Salvador and Honduras, were financed during the year and projects were prepared in Jamaica for fisheries and for agricultural research and marketing.

FAO supported the efforts of the Asian Development Bank to seek investment in rehabilitation and village development in Western Samoa, forestry in Nepal, livestock in Bangladesh, agricultural

credit in Pakistan and rural development in Thailand.

Technical Cooperation Program

FAO's Technical Cooperation Program, first approved in mid-1976, was extended for 1978-79. Its \$25.6 million is to be used to meet special emergency needs and other special situations in which FAO's direct assistance can eliminate a significant constraint to development. In extending the program, the Conference agreed that it should be evaluated during 1978 and the results reported to the FAO Council in November 1978.

By the end of November 1977, the program had allocated \$15.5 million to 216 projects, of which 79 had been requested in Africa, 45 in Asia and the Far East, 36 in the Near East, 49 in Latin America, and 7 in Europe. More than half of the projects benefited the least-developed countries and neediest areas. Examples were: fishery training courses for Philippine farmers and fishermen devastated by an earthquake, the purchase of seed potatoes for small farmers in Lebanon, and a training program in Liberia for extension workers who will teach farmers upland rice farming.

Sahel Relief

In 1977 FAO's Office for Special Relief Operations (OSRO) committed \$3.8 million for the supply of pesticides, cereals, seeds, transport, and equipment to the countries of the Sahel region and to the Gambia and Cape Verde. U.S. AID established close liaison with FAO and the Intergovernmental Committee combating Desertification in the Sahel.

In September, FAO warned that the Sahelian zone would again face a food deficit in the coming year because of persistent drought in several countries. OSRO assisted the Sahelian countries in the evaluation of the drought damage by organizing multidonor missions and by implementing emergency projects. The World Food Program began to coordinate the food-aid efforts of donor countries and to pre-position food stocks at some strategic points in the area.

Fisheries

The new regime of the sea resulting from the 200-mile limits posed scientific, jurisdictional, and technical fishery problems which FAO was asked to tackle. FAO, as the "umbrella" organization, was instrumental in helping to develop fishery industries, establish regional networks and intergovernmental ocean fishery bodies, promote training and the transfer of technical knowledge, and link the public and private sectors. In 1977 FAO operated 155 national projects and was involved in three global, eight interregional, and 30 regional undertakings which covered the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea, the Persian Gulf States, West African countries, the West Central Atlantic, and the Southern (Antarctic) Ocean.

The most critical human problem in world fisheries was defined as the low standard of living and working conditions prevailing in the small-scale sector. A concerted attack on the subsistence-level plight of fish-dependent communities in the Bay of Bengal was

launched in 1977. FAO also assisted the governments of Bangladesh, India, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, and Thailand in coping with the technical, as well as the social and economic, problems besetting fisheries in the area. The effort enlisted the cooperation of national institutions and expertise, built upon traditional methods and techniques, and encouraged comprehensive community development.

It was estimated that 10 million tons of fish are lost every year, before and after landing, out of the total world fish catch of over 73 million tons. Nine cooperative programs aimed at reducing fishery losses were initiated by FAO in Asia and the Far East.

FAO has long recognized the important contribution that aquaculture--fish and shellfish farming--makes to the world supply of high-grade protein-rich food, to rural employment, and to environmental management. This contribution was given international recognition by the Kyoto Declaration of the World Conference on Aquaculture Development and Coordination Program.

Forestry

FAO's major forestry efforts and most of its field projects in 1977 were concentrated in the tropics, an area of special importance for developing countries.

FAO emphasized assistance to developing countries in improving the productivity and management of their forest resources and expanding their forest products processing capacities. The objectives of specific forestry field projects ranged from assistance in the rehabilitation of degraded watersheds and stabilization of blowing sand dunes to the survey of forest resources, the establishment of forest industries, and the creation or strengthening of forestry institutions.

FAO supported the efforts of its member states to broaden forestry's contribution to rural development and provide employment opportunities for the rural community. Its program was based on a socioeconomic approach and put emphasis on the establishment of small-scale forest industries, the combined production of food and wood through systems of agri-silviculture, and the supply of fuel wood. Both at the FAO Conference and at the meeting of the Committee on Forestry, the United States encouraged the organization to ensure that its forestry programs are designed to give the greatest benefit to the poorest population groups in needy countries.

World Food Program

Since its beginning in 1963, the WFP, sponsored jointly by FAO and the United Nations, has specialized in the use of multilateral food aid for social and economic development and for emergency relief. As a result of recommendations made at the 1974 World Food Conference, the WFP's governing body--the Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programs (CFA)--has undertaken a series of reviews designed to develop an improved framework for international food aid.

In May 1977, the CFA agreed that WFP should play an expanded role in coordinating emergency food aid operations both within and outside the UN system. It decided to undertake in the spring of

1978 a review of the adequacy of the World Food Conference's 10-million-ton cereal target in order to synthesize global and country-by-country analysis. In connection with this review, the Secretariat will also present additional information on overall food aid needs, thus obviating the need for separate discussion of minimum targets for dairy products, fish, and oils and fats. The CFA also discussed proposals for revisions of the WFP General Regulations as formulated by an ad hoc working group in February.

At its November meeting, the CFA proposed a target for voluntary contributions of \$950 million for the 1979-80 biennium. The United States had suggested that \$880 million would be a more reasonable goal, in view of the problems of absorption in recipient countries and the need for WFP to improve the coordination of its food aid programs with other in-country development activities. There was widespread appreciation that to meet the target substantial contributions from new donors would be necessary. The Committee approved the new General Regulations and, in a review of the WFP policy on sales of commodities, decided that sales should continue to be on an exceptional basis only. The administrative budget for 1978-79 was set at \$47.5 million. The pledge target was subsequently adopted on November 30 by the FAO Conference and on December 15 by the UN General Assembly^{134/} The General Regulations were endorsed by the FAO Council in November and by ECOSOC in January 1978.

Garson Vogel (Canada), the new Executive Director, took office October 1. During his first year he has been asked by the CFA to review and report on the adequacy of WFP's administrative structure, its handling of emergency food aid, and ways to improve use of WFP project evaluations in future project design.

During 1977 the United States shipped 284,807 metric tons for WFP. Total pledges to the 1977-78 biennium were \$609 million against a target of \$750 million. Pledges to the 500,000-metric-ton International Emergency Reserve totaled 407,000 metric tons, including a U.S. pledge of 125,000 metric tons for fiscal year 1978.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

Membership in the IMF rose to 132 nations in 1977 as Guinea-Bissau, the Seychelles, and Sao Tome and Principe acceded to the Articles of Agreement. Members' quotas in the Fund totaled about 29.2 billion SDRs (Special Drawing Rights)^{135/} The U.S. quota of SDR 6.7 billion represented 21.06% of the total quotas. No additional SDRs were issued in 1977.

In 1977 drawings on the IMF totaled a little over SDR 3.4 billion, less than half of the previous year. At the end of the year, net drawings outstanding amounted to almost SDR 15.5 billion, an

^{134/} Resolution 32/112.

^{135/} One SDR equals the gold content of one 1944 U.S. dollar; in January 1978 it equalled approximately 82 U.S. cents.

increase of only SDR 500 million from 1976.

Supplementary Financing Facility

During its April 28-29, 1977, meeting, the Interim Committee of the Board of Governors endorsed the establishment of a Supplementary Financing Facility (also known as the Witteveen Facility). This temporary facility, expected to come into operation during 1978, will allow the IMF to expand its financial assistance to member countries facing balance of payments problems over the next several years that are large in relation to their economies and quotas in the Fund.

On August 6, in Paris, 13 IMF member states and the Swiss National Bank (Switzerland is not an IMF member) agreed to make SDR 8.71 billion available for the new facility. Of this amount the United States agreed to contribute SDR 1.4 billion.

The IMF Executive Directors in September 1977 formally decided to establish the new facility and defined the terms and conditions under which IMF members can draw from it. Access to the facility resources will be combined with access to the Fund's ordinary resources under either a standby arrangement or an extended arrangement. The former would cover a period of 1 to 3 years; the latter would normally cover 3 years. Access to the new facility will have the same criteria as access to the second, third, and fourth credit tranches of regular Fund facilities. Repayments of drawings from the new facility will be made in equal semiannual installments to begin not later than 3-1/2 years from the initial drawing; they are to be completed within 7 years.

Quota Increase and Second Amendment

The comprehensive second amendment to the IMF Articles of Agreement and a proposal for increases in quotas, agreed to in 1976, were submitted to members in 1977.

The second amendment will allow members greater flexibility in their choice of exchange rate arrangements, with certain general obligations and under IMF surveillance. The amendment requires acceptance by 60% (80) of the members having 80% of the total voting power. By the end of 1977, 71 members with almost 68% of the voting power had accepted.

The proposed quota increase, which will raise total quotas from SDR 29.2 billion to SDR 39.0 billion, needs the consent of members representing 75% of total IMF quotas. By the end of 1977, 62 members representing almost 63% of the quotas had accepted.

Gold Sales

The IMF sold 6,027,600 fine ounces of gold at public auction in 1977, the second year of its 4-year program of gold sales. The total sold at public auction through December 31, 1977, was almost 10 million fine ounces.

Of the 50 million fine ounces to be sold during this 4-year period, 25 million are to be sold at public auction to finance the

Trust Fund, which is for the sole benefit of developing countries, while the other 25 million are to be restituted to members (i.e., sold at the official price of SDR 35 per fine ounce to countries that were members on August 31, 1975, in proportion to their Fund quotas).

During 1977 the proceeds from gold sales at public auctions amounted to \$644 million. This, added to the \$320 million earned from such sales in 1976, puts the total proceeds at nearly \$1 billion.

The "restitution" of the 25 million fine ounces also proceeded in 1977. Between January 12 and February 23, 112 members received 5,991,431 fine ounces of gold. At the official price, the value of this amount totaled almost SDR 210 million. Operations to restitute another 5.9 million fine ounces to 106 members began in December 1977.

Use of Fund Resources

Members drew almost SDR 2.9 billion of the SDR 3.4 billion total drawings from regular Fund facilities. Repayments were a record SDR 2.9 billion. Drawings by industrial countries were the major portion of total drawings in 1977, while developing countries sharply reduced their drawings.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

In 1977 Bahrain, the Seychelles, and Guinea-Bissau became members of the ILO, but on November 6 the United States withdrew from the organization, bringing membership at the end of the year to 134.

Throughout 1976 and 1977 the United States carefully watched the ILO situation in the light of the 2-year notice of intent to withdraw it had given in November 1975. The Cabinet-level Committee¹³⁶ set up in 1975 met frequently in 1977 to monitor developments in the ILO, especially as related to the four basic concerns expressed in the notice of intent to withdraw: (1) erosion of tripartism; that is, the independent roles of labor, management, and government in the organization; (2) selective concern for human rights; (3) disregard of due process; and (4) the increasing politicization of the organization. The U.S. hope at the time it gave notice of its intent to withdraw was that conditions could be created to restore within the ILO the traditions of due process, objectivity, and a single standard for the measurement of compliance with its conventions.

Over the years the ILO has pioneered in establishing labor standards, labor training, and employment programs. Moreover, the ILO is unique in the UN system because of the important task the

¹³⁶/ Secretary of Labor (Chairman), Secretary of State, Secretary of Commerce, National Security Adviser, and representatives of the AFL-CIO and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

organization has assumed in monitoring compliance by member states with the ILO-developed human rights conventions. However, unless this task is performed objectively, a vital part of the ILO's work can be undermined. Unfortunately, in recent years, many member states began to prevent the organization from adopting a position of objectivity in its reports on compliance with its conventions. It began to use one set of standards for Communist countries and another for non-Communist countries. Subsequently, the double standard practice was also applied to Middle East issues.

The failure by the International Labor Conference in June 1977 to adopt the report of the Committee on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (CACR), the very heart of the ILO's work in the human rights field, was a crucial factor in the U.S. decision to leave the organization. The report cited the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia, as well as Ethiopia, Liberia, Uganda, Argentina, Bolivia, and Chile for deficiencies in complying with ILO human rights conventions that they had accepted. This was only the second time in 50 years that a Conference had refused to accept the CACR report. (The first time was in 1974.) This action on the part of the Conference was seen by U.S. Representatives as further indication that the ILO continued to deviate from its basic principles.

At the October 1977 meeting of the Cabinet-level Committee it was decided to send two separate recommendations to the President: (1) that U.S. membership be terminated in accordance with the notice given to the ILO on November 5, 1975; (2) that the notice of withdrawal be extended for an additional year. President Carter considered the alternative recommendations at length before deciding on U.S. withdrawal from the ILO, a decision he announced on November 1.

The decision was a very difficult one, and it was taken in the spirit that the United States would return to the ILO if the latter's performance improved. U.S. allies, who had strongly urged that the United States remain in the organization, are continuing to work for the reform of the ILO that this country advocates. The U.S. Government believes strongly that the work of the ILO in accordance with the purposes for which it was established would produce benefits for member countries--particularly those from the developing world. The Cabinet-level Committee on U.S. participation in the ILO is keeping under review decisions and activities of the organization within the context of the President's statement that "The United States remains ready to return whenever the ILO is again true to its proper principles and procedures."

UN EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

Angola and the Comoros joined UNESCO in 1977, bringing total membership at the end of the year to 142 full and 2 associate members.

Executive Board

The General Conference, which meets biennially, did not meet in 1977, but the 45-member Executive Board, of which the United States is a member, met twice in Paris, April 25-May 12 and September 12-

October 7.

In addition to taking a number of actions of program matters, discussed below under the appropriate sections, the Board addressed several general policy issues. The principal topic of debate at the spring meeting was the question of strengthening UNESCO's procedures for handling complaints alleging human rights violations. After a preliminary discussion, the Board set up a working party to draw up specific proposals for improving and codifying the Board's existing, informal procedures. The working party, of which the United States was a member, met in Paris in August and again in October, but reached agreement on only a few relatively minor issues. It was to meet again in January 1978 and prepare a final report for submission to the Board.

Most of the fall session of the Board was devoted to the question of possible adjustments in the medium-term plan for 1977-82 and the draft program and budget for the 1979-80 biennium. The Board decided that during the next few years UNESCO's work should be strengthened in the areas of human rights, the status of women, the contribution of science and technology to rural development, and the improvement of education.

Education

During 1977 the United States participated in three major inter-governmental meetings and hosted two meetings of experts in the field of education.

The U.S. Commissioner of Education led the U.S. delegation to the 36th session of the International Conference on Education, convened in Geneva, August 30-September 8, under the sponsorship of UNESCO and its affiliate, the International Bureau of Education (IBE). This biennial meeting addressed major trends in education, present educational policies (related to development), and "the problem of information at the national and international level which is posed by the improvement of educational systems." Discussion of the latter topic led to the adoption of a recommendation on the development of national and regional information systems and the roles that UNESCO and the IBE might play to encourage international cooperation in this area. The United States prepared and transmitted to all other delegations a report on "Progress of Education in the United States of America, 1974-1976," which gives particular attention to educational information systems in this country. An American, James B. Chandler, was appointed in July by the Director General as Director of the IBE.

In cooperation with UNEP, UNESCO convened an intergovernmental conference at Tbilisi, U.S.S.R., October 14-26, to review the international environmental education program that had been developed in response to a recommendation of the 1972 UN Conference on Human Environment. Participants discussed the major environmental problems in contemporary society, the role of education, and current trends and efforts to develop national and international programs and proposed strategies for further development of environmental education. The United States cosponsored a number of recommendations, subsequently adopted by the Conference, that provided a conceptual framework for environmental education by establishing principles

and goals and suggested programmatic initiatives and clearer understanding of the roles which UN agencies and nongovernmental organizations might play in the implementation of activities.

The United States also participated in the first session of the Interim Intergovernmental Committee for Physical Education, held in Paris, July 4-13. This 30-member committee, which had been established by the 19th General Conference of UNESCO in 1976, was to implement certain recommendations that had been made by the International Conference on Physical Education and Sport in April 1976. The committee approved draft statutes for a permanent international body and an international fund to promote international cooperation in developing physical education and sports programs. It also set up a working group to draft a charter of principles, laid down general guidelines for UNESCO's programs in the 1979-80 biennium, and asked the Director General to survey member states and competent international nongovernmental organizations to assist in developing a study of the difficulties posed by the organization and practice of sports.

The first of the two UNESCO-sponsored expert meetings which the United States hosted met in May at the Davidson Conference Center of the University of Southern California at the invitation of the College of Continuing Education. It brought together specialists from 15 countries to consider ways to improve guidance, counselling, and information services for adult learners. The second meeting, held in October at the Department of State in cooperation with the American Council on International Sports, brought together specialists from 14 countries of UNESCO's European Region to discuss the continuity between physical education and sports activities for young people of school age and sports activities for adults.

Natural Sciences

In recent years there has been a growing interest among the developing countries in ocean sciences and marine resources. The 10th session of the Assembly of the International Oceanographic Commission (IOC), meeting in late October, responded to this interest by adopting a recommendation for the establishment of a Voluntary Assistance Program to serve as a conduit for bilateral assistance in education, training, and equipment. The Assembly also resolved to strengthen its activities in training, education, and assistance in the marine sciences, with particular attention to the Caribbean and adjacent areas, and decided to establish a formal working group to continue studying the question of the future role and functions of the IOC. The Assembly also reviewed the progress of ongoing programs, such as the integrated Global Ocean Station System, the Global Investigation of Pollution in the Marine Environment, and the International Coordination Group for the Tsunami (Tidal Wave) Warning System in the Pacific.

The United States is one of 82 countries participating in UNESCO's "Man and the Biosphere" Program (MAB), an interdisciplinary, integrated, research and training effort that seeks solutions to practical environmental development problems associated with man's use of natural resources.

The fifth session of the MAB policymaking board, the Inter-

national Coordinating Council, met in Vienna in October and expressed satisfaction with the progress which had been made within the 14 MAB project areas. Some 400 projects in 52 countries have been registered with the MAB secretariat, and there is a global network of 129 "biosphere reserves," areas set aside for conservation of genetic diversity and for carrying out baseline environmental research and monitoring, in 30 countries.

The U.S. National Committee for MAB has established subgroups to conduct research in each of the 14 MAB project areas outlined by UNESCO. (For details of U.S. participation, see below, p. 204.)

During 1977 the International Hydrological Program (IHP) adjusted its program to facilitate the implementation of the resolutions of the UN Water Conference held in March 1977, while at the same time continuing scheduled projects. The biennial meeting of the IHP Council instructed its Planning Group for the Second Phase of the IHP (1981-86) to give special attention to the Water Conference's recommendations, particularly in regard to the assessment and development of national water resources.

The IHP committees on the Influence of Man on the Hydrological Cycle (Committee A) and on Training, Education, and Technical Assistance for the Developing Countries (Committee B) held their first meetings in 1977. The Council accepted most of Committee A's recommendations regarding assessments of urbanization and other manmade developments on water-related aspects of the ecology and on water quality. Committee B, faced with a broader array of problems, made general recommendations to the Council regarding the need to streamline IHP activities in technical assistance and submitted guidelines for future education programs. The Council agreed to reestablish both committees.

In accordance with its decision to give education higher priority than research, the Council established two new working groups on education and training. The first, dealing with the training of experts in hydrology and the water sciences, will help member states organize short courses, workshops, and seminars on modern developments in the water-resources field. The second will develop teaching aids and experimental facilities in water-resources education. The Council also requested the Director General to include a regional pilot project for post-graduate specialization in water-related studies for the Latin American and Caribbean regions.

The IHP sponsored regional meetings, workshops, and symposia on a variety of topics in 1977, including river and sea ice, water quality modeling, and the impact of urbanization and industrialization on national and regional planning and management. The United States participated in most of these meetings.

The United States plays an active role in the International Geological Correlations Program (IGCP), a coordinated research program, jointly sponsored by UNESCO and the International Union of Geological Sciences, emphasizing identification and assessment of mineral and energy resources. The program promotes increased publication and use of geological data and increased contact and cooperation between geologists in developed and developing countries. Some 60 projects are now underway.

U.S. geologists are active in the Commission on the Geologic Map of the World, which is engaged in compiling and publishing geologic, tectonics, and metallogenic maps of the continents and ocean basins. UNESCO contributes funds toward the publication of the maps and sponsors regional meetings to carry out the work of the Commission. Maps of the People's Republic of China and adjacent areas have been published and maps of North America, South America, and Asia are in progress. When the continental mapping projects are completed, the Commission will begin on maps of the ocean basins.

In other areas, U.S. scientists participated actively in UNESCO activities relating to earthquake prediction, and provided advisory services in the fields of sedimentary laboratory technology and seismology.

Social Sciences

The increasing importance being given to human rights issues in UNESCO is reflected not only in the efforts of the Executive Board to strengthen the organization's procedures for handling complaints alleging human rights violations, but also in the drafting of a declaration on race and racial prejudice. UNESCO's work on the declaration is the culmination of a series of closely related UNESCO instruments on racial discrimination dating back to the early 1950's. The preliminary study was mandated by the General Conference in 1972, a year before the designation of the UN Decade Against Racism and Racial Discrimination.

In 1976 the General Conference requested that a new draft be prepared. This was done by a group of seven "Wise Men" (including an American, Professor Clyde Ferguson of Harvard University Law School) in conjunction with members of the UNESCO secretariat. At the invitation of Director General M'Bow, the group met in Paris in April. The final draft was to be submitted to the 20th session of the General Conference in the fall of 1978, following approval by a preparatory meeting of intergovernmental experts in the spring of 1978.

At its annual meeting in December 1977 the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO unanimously adopted a resolution "recognizing the importance of effective U.S. participation in the formulation of the proposed Declaration."

In response to a resolution adopted by the 19th General Conference (1976), alleging violations of educational and cultural rights in the territories occupied by Israel, a five-man fact-finding mission composed of experts from France, Nigeria, Spain, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia visited Israel and the occupied territories in December and talked with educators and municipal officials. This was the first time since 1974 that Israel had agreed to receive a UNESCO inspection team. A subsequent visit was planned for the spring of 1978, with a report to the General Conference in the fall.

Culture

Operational guidelines to implement the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage were adopted by the World Heritage Committee at its first session, held in Paris

June 27-July 1, 1977. The guidelines, which reflect the views the United States presented at the meeting, cover general principles for establishing the World Heritage List of cultural and natural properties having universal significance for mankind and elaborate separate criteria for the inclusion of these natural and cultural properties on the list. The Committee also developed a standard format for applying for assistance from the World Heritage Fund and criteria and priorities for considering and granting such aid. The United States will host the second session of the Committee in the fall of 1978.

As a followup to continuing complaints of Israeli archaeological excavations in Jerusalem and other activities alleged to be altering the character of the city, Director General M'Bow in December again sent Professor Raymond Lemaire of the University of Louvain (and Secretary General of the International Council of Monuments and Sites) to inspect the excavations. No results of this visit had been made public by the end of the year.

Communications

Because of the vigorous opposition of the United States and other countries to the draft declaration on Principles Governing the Use of the Mass Media in Strengthening Peace and International Understanding and in Combating War Propaganda, Racism, and Apartheid--which supported the principle of governmental control over the contents and dissemination of news--the 19th General Conference in 1976 postponed consideration of the draft until the 20th Conference. The Director General was asked to hold "further broad consultations" with the aim of obtaining the "largest possible measure of agreement."

During the fall of 1977, a new proposed text was circulated among concerned groups and individuals for comment. Three Americans were among those consulted: William Harley, President Emeritus of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters; Leonard Sussman, Executive Director of Freedom House; and George Beebe, Associate Publisher of the Miami Herald. Member states of UNESCO were to be officially consulted on a revised text after it had been issued by the Director General.

In order to expand the scope of UNESCO's role in communication matters, the Director General formed the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, appointing Sean MacBride (Ireland) as its chairman. Fifteen other world leaders in various aspects of communication, including Elie Abel, Dean of the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, were named to the Commission. The Commission held its first session in Paris in December to study what the Director General termed the "obstacles to the free and balanced flow of information in the world and the specific needs of the developing countries" and "to explore how communication can arouse public opinion on such major world problems as hunger, underdevelopment, the energy crisis, environmental pollution, and the denial of human rights." The Commission is expected to submit an interim report to the 20th General Conference and conclude its tasks before the 21st General Conference in 1980.

General Information Program

In accordance with a decision of the 19th General Conference to consolidate UNESCO's several information activities, the Director General in February 1977 established within his office the Division of the General Information Program. The new unit merged the functions of the Division of Scientific and Technological Documentation and Information (which had implemented UNISIST--World Science Information System) from the Science Sector and the Division of Documentation, Libraries, and Archives (which had sponsored NATIS--National Information Systems) from the Communications and Culture Sector.

This reorganization, which the United States supported, furthers the integration of previously disparate and unbalanced library, archives, and science information projects into a more cohesive and balanced program. Integration of its information activities enables UNESCO to respond more effectively to the information needs of the developing countries, while the establishment of a uniform set of standards to ensure compatibility of format facilitates the exchange of information in all countries by making information more readily usable.

At its spring session the Executive Board approves statutes for an Advisory Committee to supersede the UNISIST Advisory Committee and the International Advisory Committee on Documentation, Libraries, and Archives. The new 18-member committee will advise the Director General on technical matters relating to the General Information Program and may be consulted on information aspects of other sectoral activities of the organization. An American, Dr. Melvin Day, Deputy Director of the National Library of Medicine, was appointed by the Director General to serve on the Committee.

Budgetary and Administrative Questions

The United States resumed payment of its annual contributions to UNESCO in 1977 after having withheld them in 1975 and 1976 because of actions against Israel taken by the 18th General Conference in 1974. The U.S. Congress, on considering the Presidential certification that sufficient positive steps had been taken at the 19th General Conference to justify resumption of contributions, appropriated \$60 million for UNESCO, enabling the United States to pay its 1975 and 1976 assessments, plus some technical payments, and to make partial payment of \$17 million on its assessment of \$27 million for 1977.

After a spirited debate, the Executive Board at its spring session adopted a resolution which, while stopping short of recommending UNESCO's acceptance of the new statute of the UN Joint Inspection Unit (see p. 301), made clear the Board's view that "UNESCO intends to have uninterrupted relations" with the JIU. The new statute, effective January 1, 1978, established the JIU as a subsidiary organ of the legislative bodies of those specialized agencies accepting the statute and augmented its powers to provide "an independent view through inspection and evaluation aimed at improving management and methods and at achieving greater coordination between organizations." Opposition to accepting the new statute had centered on the JIU's augmented powers of investigation and the

increase in the number of inspectors. In addition, some members questioned the legality of having the Executive Board accept the statute rather than the General Conference, since the JIU would be a subsidiary organ of the latter body. The United States, which supports an effective evaluation system in UNESCO, overcame the legal issue by proposing an amendment to the resolution, which was accepted, that expressed the Executive Board's provisional acceptance of the statute and directed the Director General to place the statute before the 20th General Conference in the fall of 1978 for final decision.

U.S. National Commission for UNESCO

The U.S. National Commission for UNESCO was created by a joint resolution of Congress in 1946 in accordance with Article VII of the UNESCO Constitution recommending the establishment of such commissions in member states. It is comprised of 100 individuals appointed by the Secretary of State and representing the fields of education, science, culture, and communications. The Commission advises the U.S. Government on UNESCO matters, publicizes UNESCO activities in the United States, and facilitates the participation of U.S. organizations in UNESCO programs.

During 1977 the Commission continued to accord highest program priority to MAB. Close to 200 scientists and administrators, representing some 50 universities and more than a score of government agencies, participate in the U.S. MAB program. The activities undertaken during the year included (1) a full-day public session in conjunction with the University of Nevada at Reno to consider environmental problems unique to areas similar to the Lake Tahoe region; (2) a series of Biosphere Reserves Regional Workshops in Tucson, Arizona; Corvallis, Oregon; and Boulder, Colorado to acquaint managers of biosphere reserve areas with the worldwide network of research and monitoring programs available through MAB; (3) an international symposium cosponsored by MAB and Stanford University on the environmental consequences of fire and fuel management in the Mediterranean-climate regions; and (4) implementation of an increased program of assistance for environmental and natural resource protection funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development

As part of its continuing interest in environmental education, the Commission brought together numerous private and government agencies to prepare for the UNESCO conference in Tbilisi (see p.198).

Both to implement actions taken at UNESCO's 19th General Conference and to address U.S. priorities and problems, the Commission in 1977 emphasized human rights. The Commission's Human Rights Committee, comprised of leading international law specialists, provided detailed analysis and advice to the Government on UNESCO's intergovernmental meeting scheduled for spring 1978 to consider a draft declaration on race and racial prejudice and on strengthening UNESCO procedures for dealing with human rights complaints within the areas of its competence. The Commission also took the lead in pursuing international human rights education. As a followup to its publication, International Human Rights and International Education (published in June 1977) the Commission undertook a workshop on international human rights education as part of the annual Education

Week activities organized by the U.S. Office of Education and the National Council for the Social Studies and held in Chautauqua, New York, August 1-5, 1977. Human rights education was also a concern of the workshop, "Global Concerns and Your Curriculum," sponsored by the National Commission and the U.S. Liaison Committee for UNESCO Associated Schools. This workshop was held at UN Headquarters in August and attended by some 21 teachers and curriculum specialists from eight countries.

As part of its annual meeting, held in Detroit, December 7-9, the Commission organized an International Human Rights Symposium to inform its members, the Michigan community, and regional organizations, universities, and elementary and secondary school teachers on the issues involved in U.S. human rights policy. Four panels discussed President Carter's initiatives in human rights along with the implications of this policy, the directions of U.S. policy, the UNESCO human rights program, and human rights education.

In support of U.S. participation in the UN Decade for Women, the Commission sponsored an international media workshop, attended by 22 participants from all regions of the world, as part of the National Women's Conference in Houston in November. The workshop developed recommendations to UNESCO for the formulation of future programs on the role and participation of women in the media.

In cooperation with the Smithsonian Institution, the Commission established a Council on Technology and Cultural Transformation. Comprised of artists, scientists, technologists, scholars, and administrators, the Council is a consortium of some 15 institutions engaged in programs dealing with the impact of technology on cultural transformation, oral traditions in an advanced technological society, and cross-cultural studies of technology, culture, and human values. The Commission also explored with eight Caribbean and Latin American countries the possibilities for a joint research project analyzing similarities and dissimilarities among blacks of the western hemisphere in the fields of music and dance, oral traditions, linguistics, and culture.

During 1977 the Commission renewed its emphasis on its public information function by beginning publication of two newsletters. The first, Update, reports news of the National Commission; the second, MAB Newsletter, is devoted to UNESCO and the U.S. MAB program. In order to respond to large numbers of requests for information on specific subjects, the Commission published brochures on human rights and on MAB and revised a report, United States Participation in UNESCO, which evaluates the U.S. role. In addition, the Commission published Report on Women in America, a comprehensive guide for the foreign visitor on the status of women in the United States. The Commission also supported the publication of a two-part Report on the North American Regional Seminar on Environmental Education. The seminar had been held in St. Louis, October 5-8, 1976, under the Commission's cosponsorship.

Among actions taken at its annual meeting, the Commission adopted a resolution "urging the President and the Congress, in order to encourage further promising accomplishments in UNESCO, to meet the financial obligations of the U.S. assessed dues to UNESCO"

WORLD INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY ORGANIZATION

Bahamas, Burundi, Italy, Malta, Pakistan, and Zambia joined WIPO in 1977, bringing the membership at the end of the year to 78.

WIPO is the principal worldwide organization responsible for promoting the protection of intellectual property, which comprises two elements: copyrights (mainly literary and artistic works) and industrial property (mainly patents on inventions and industrial designs and trademarks). WIPO is also responsible for the administration of 10 intergovernmental "unions," each founded on a multi-lateral treaty. The two principal treaties are the 1883 Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property, which has 88 parties, and the 1886 Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, which has 70 parties. The United States is a party to the former convention, but not the latter. Other WIPO-administered intellectual property treaties to which the United States is a party are the 1957 Nice Agreement Concerning the International Classification of Goods and Services for the Purposes of the Registration of Marks, the 1968 Locarno Agreement Establishing an International Classification for Industrial Designs, the 1971 Strasbourg Agreement Concerning the International Patent Classification, and the 1971 Geneva Convention for the Protection of Procedures of Phonograms Against Unauthorized Duplication of Their Phonograms.

Membership in WIPO is open to any state that is a member of any of the Unions, or of the United Nations or its specialized agencies, or which is invited to become a member by the WIPO General Assembly.

Administrative Organization

WIPO's International Bureau, or secretariat, operates under the direction of the WIPO member states through a General Assembly and a Conference which meet triennially. The principal administrative organ of the Paris and Berne Unions is the Assembly of each union, consisting of all the member states. The Paris and Berne Unions elect Executive Committees from among their member states and the joint membership of these two Committees constitutes WIPO's Coordination Committee which meets annually and is entrusted with the normal tasks of such a governing body, especially the implementation of the triennial program and budgeting of WIPO. As a member of the Paris Union Executive Committee, the United States is a member of the WIPO Coordination Committee for the period 1977-79. The U.S. assessment for the four industrial property conventions to which it is a party amounted to approximately \$225,000 in fiscal year 1977.

Objectives

One of the two basic objectives of WIPO is to promote the protection of intellectual property on a worldwide basis. In support of this objective, WIPO encourages the conclusion of new international treaties and the harmonization of national laws; gives legal-technical assistance to developing countries; assembles and disseminates information on intellectual property; and maintains

international registration services in the fields of trademarks, industrial designs, and appellations of origin.

The second basic objective of WIPO is to ensure administrative cooperation among the unions. Centralizing the administration of the various unions in the International Bureau helps ensure economy both for the member states and for the private sector concerned with intellectual property.

Technical Activities

Because of its concern for the proliferation of WIPO's technical activities and its desire that redundant or unproductive projects be avoided, the United States suggested in 1975 that some method be found to monitor these efforts. This suggestion led to the establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee for Coordination of the Technical Activities of WIPO. Following a 2-year effort, the Ad Hoc Committee's recommendations for coordinating WIPO's various technical activities related to patents and patent information were adopted by the WIPO Administrative Bodies at their fall 1977 meeting.

The most important of these recommendations established a Permanent Committee for Patent Information. This Committee will coordinate all technical activities which are presently being undertaken in regard to the revision of the International Patent Classification under the Strasbourg Agreement and the Paris Union Committee for International Cooperation in Information Retrieval Among Patent Offices (ICIREPAT). It will also coordinate certain activities under the Patent Cooperation Treaty and various other existing or planned technical activities related to patent information. As a result of better coordination, it is expected there will be fewer meetings, but those held will be more responsive to needs in the patent information area.

During 1977 the United States participated in WIPO activities directed toward improvement of the international patent classification system, further development of cooperative patent search systems and standards under ICIREPAT, improvement of the International Classification of Goods and Services for the Purposes of the Registration of Marks, and preparation for entry into force of the Patent Cooperation Treaty.

Assistance to Developing Countries

Activities of WIPO in the field of development cooperation with respect to developing countries were expanded during 1977 under the direction of two committees composed of developed and developing countries: the WIPO Permanent Committee for Development Cooperation Related to Industrial Property and the new WIPO Permanent Committee for Development Cooperation Related to Copyrights and Neighboring Rights. The United States is a member of both of these Committees and supports most of the numerous and varied activities.

The Expert Group on Information from Patent Documents met in March 1977 to consider ways to get technological information relevant to the needs of developing countries from patent documentation. Work was completed on a revised draft of the Model Law on Inventions and Know-How during 1977 and a first draft of the commentary and the

regulations. These drafts will be submitted to the governments of members of the Permanent Committee for comment. Plans were made by the Permanent Committee for a new Model Law for Developing Countries on Works, to replace, at least in part, an earlier model law published in 1967. These important documents are being prepared by WIPO with the assistance of working groups comprised of experts from both developed and developing countries. A comprehensive Licensing Guide on the legal aspects of the negotiation and preparation of industrial property licenses and technology transfer agreements appropriate to the needs of developing countries was published in English, French, and Spanish. The Guide will be used by officials in developing countries and in seminars and training courses on a regional and national level.

During 1977 WIPO provided 36 traineeships in the field of industrial property and copyright to officials from 35 developing countries; the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office sponsored one of these trainees. WIPO also provided direct legal-technical assistance to 25 national or regional industrial property or copyright institutions. This included (1) the continuing work on the UNDP-financed 5-year project for the modernization of the Brazilian patent system, and (2) joint efforts with the African Intellectual Property Organization and UNDP to develop regional industrial property co-operation among English-speaking African countries, to establish an African Center for the Development of Technology, and to develop model laws for these countries.

The first session of the Permanent Committee for Development Cooperation Related to Copyrights and Neighboring Rights was held in March 1977. Among other things, the Committee reviewed work and plans for the promotion and protection of indigenous intellectual creativity in developing countries, pointed out the usefulness of the Tunis Model Law on Copyright for Developing Countries, emphasized the importance of the WIPO fellowships program in copyright and neighboring rights, and noted the assistance by WIPO to developing countries in drafting new legislation and organizing copyright administration.

Revision of the Paris Convention

In 1977 the United States continued its active participation in the work on revision of the Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property, the most important multilateral treaty in this field. Preparations for a diplomatic conference, tentatively scheduled for 1979, were advanced.

The Preparatory Intergovernmental Committee on the Revision of the Paris Convention (PIC) held its second session in June 1977 and further considered the questions of a revised Article 5A (which deals with non-working and abuses of patents, and the remedies which may be taken); inventors' certificates (which are a form of recognition for inventions given by a few Socialist countries); and preferential treatment for developing country nationals in regard to fees and length of priority periods. A draft text for a revised Article 5A was developed; the differences of opinion over a further accommodation for inventors' certificates were further defined; and the many problems arising from giving preferential treatment on the basis of nationality highlighted the need for further study. The

latter two matters were further considered by working groups and by the PIC at its third session.

The third session of the PIC, in November, approved several draft provisions primarily of benefit to developing countries. One draft provision would provide for the international furnishing of information concerning a patent, or an application therefore, to a given invention, while another draft provision would provide a basis for granting certain legal-technical assistance to developing countries.

At this session major attention was also given to the problem of the conflict between geographical indications of origin and trademarks. Because of widely divergent opinions expressed as to the nature of any modification of the treaty, the matter was referred back, along with several other problems, to the PIC's Working Group Entrusted with Questions of Special Interest to Developing Countries.

During the course of the year discussions also took place concerning other provisions of the treaty which deal with the nature of the protection to be afforded to certain imported products (Article 5quater) and the time period after which a trademark may be cancelled for non-use in countries where such use is compulsory (Article 5C(1).) Attention was also given to the question of whether a qualified majority or unanimity would be required for revision of the treaty. This question will be discussed further at the last session of the PIC prior to the Diplomatic Conference.

Patent Cooperation Treaty

With the deposit by the United Kingdom on October 24, 1977, of its instrument of ratification, the requirements for entry into force of the Patent Cooperation Treaty were fulfilled and the work of the various interim committees preparing for the implementation of this treaty was accelerated.

Under the treaty, U.S. citizens and residents may file an international patent application with the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office in Washington. The effect of the international application is the same as if national applications had been concurrently filed with the national patent offices (including the European Patent Office) of those countries party to the treaty which the applicant designates. The international application is then subjected to a search of the prior art by the U.S. Patent and Trademark office, and the applicant is placed in a position in which he can decide, on the basis of the international search report, whether it is worthwhile to pursue his application in the various countries he has designated. National procedures in such countries are delayed until 20 months after the priority date unless the applicant asks for an earlier start.

An international application may be a first application or it may be a subsequent application invoking the priority of an application previously filed with the national office of a country party to the Paris Convention or with the European Patent Office. Where protection is sought in any country party to both the treaty and the European Patent Convention, the applicant may seek protection under the national law of that country or under the European Patent

Convention.

In addition to the United States, which ratified the Patent Cooperation Treaty in October 1975, a number of major industrialized countries ratified or adhered in 1977. These include the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Switzerland, the U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom. Their membership in the Patent Cooperation Treaty Union will become effective early in 1978.

Other Activities

A new Treaty on the International Recognition of the Deposit of Microorganisms for the Purposes of Patent Procedure was concluded at a diplomatic conference in Budapest, Hungary, from April 14 to 28, 1977. The treaty was signed by the United States and 13 other countries, and will enter into force 3 months after the deposit of the fifth instrument of ratification or accession. The main feature of the treaty is that a contracting state which requires the deposit of microorganisms for purposes of patent procedure must recognize, for such purposes, the deposit of a microorganism in an international depository authority, whether or not such authority is located in the territory of the said state. When in force, the treaty will enable a firm to rely on a single deposit in patenting a microbiological invention worldwide. It will also provide assurance that depositories accepting deposits for patent purposes will maintain high scientific standards in the handling and storage of microorganisms.

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

In 1977 the United States continued its active participation in the work of the World Health Organization, and also in two of the six regions: the Americas and the Western Pacific. Countries in these two regions, as well as those of the other four regions, meet annually to review program and budget proposals for their areas and to discuss health concerns of common interest. Additionally, the United States demonstrates its active interest in the work of WHO through continuous consultations with WHO officials both at headquarters in Geneva and the various regional offices; the exchange of health and scientific data; the loan of health experts; the participation in seminars, working groups, and advisory committees; collaboration in and support for specific program areas; and through a variety of other cooperative activities.

The membership of WHO in 1977 decreased by one, to 150, the result of the unification of North and South Vietnam into the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. There are also two associate members.

World Health Assembly

The World Health Assembly, WHO's principal governing body, held its 30th session in Geneva, May 2-19. Delegations came from 142 member states as well as observers from the United Nations and other specialized agencies. At this Assembly, as in previous years, the great majority of delegates were health professionals. Discussions of health issues were conducted at a high professional level.

A highlight of the Assembly was a message by President Carter, which was read to the delegates by the President of the Assembly. It conveyed a strong U.S. pledge of support to the work of WHO and was warmly received. The tone of this Assembly, generally, was one of mutual concern and cooperation. For the first time in recent years, no delegation voted against the level of the effective working budget--\$165 million--although 13 states abstained. The United States abstained because the budget contained \$5 million in unallocated funds. The Assembly again adopted a resolution condemning Israel's nonadmittance of a Special Group of Experts to visit the occupied territories and report on the health of refugees there. The discussion of this issue, however, was shorter and less emotional than in recent years. Moreover, the resolution received more negative votes than in recent Assembly history, with 23 against adoption of the resolution (including the U.S.), 74 for, and 17 abstentions.

Notable decisions of the Assembly included the formal adoption of biennial budgeting (beginning with the 1980-81 period), and approval of a revised scale of assessment that reduces the U.S. rate to 25%. The United States was elected to the Executive Board for the years 1977-80. Important program decisions included putting new emphasis on the role of nursing and midwifery personnel in primary health care teams, development of a special program of technical cooperation in mental health, and continued support for the international coordinating role of WHO in biomedical and health services research and cancer research. The Chief U.S. Delegate, Dr. S. Paul Ehrlich, Jr., Acting Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, HEW, noted with satisfaction certain dynamic changes taking place in the Organization, particularly the drastic steps to improve efficiency and to allocate the resulting additional resources to the area of technical cooperation with developing countries.

General Activities

During the year, WHO continued to emphasize the concept of technical cooperation with developing countries toward the goal of their achieving self-reliance in matters of health. WHO's priority program areas included research and training in tropical diseases, an expanded program on immunization, primary health care (including family planning), nutrition, and environmental health. In addition to administering its regular-budget programs, totaling some \$147 million, WHO continued to act as the executing agency for health and health-related projects costing approximately \$100 million and financed by the UNDP, UNICEF, IBRD, the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control, the UN Fund for Population Activities, regional development banks, and other voluntary contributors.

Smallpox

WHO's goal of achieving eradication of smallpox throughout the world did not materialize during 1977 although confidence of early success remained high. By year's end, only remote areas bordering Somalia, Kenya, and Ethiopia continued to harbor possible centers of infection. Insecurity in parts of this large area and the nomadic customs of many of its people increased the difficulties of the WHO teams and national health authorities. The last case of smallpox to be reported from Somalia was on October 26, 1977. For over 2 years, smallpox cases have been detected in only two other countries,

both bordering Somalia: Kenya, where five cases were reported in February 1977 (imported from Somalia), and Ethiopia, where the last known case was reported in August 1976.

In December 1977 certification of smallpox eradication in Bangladesh was announced by an international commission, a particularly significant occurrence in that it represents the elimination throughout the world of variola major, the most severe form of smallpox. The type of smallpox found in Ethiopia and Somalia is of the milder type.

"Health for all by the Year 2000"

During 1977 WHO strengthened its efforts to coordinate international health work in order to achieve the ambitious target proclaimed by the 30th World Health Assembly: "the attainment by all the citizens of the world by the year 2000 of a level of health that will permit them to lead socially and economically productive lives." Director General Halfdan Mahler told the Assembly he was well aware that WHO's regular budget would always be far too small for such a task. However, he said that if developing member countries would demonstrate their seriousness of purpose by (1) developing (with WHO assistance as required) appropriate country health plans, and (2) mobilizing all possible national resources for the plan's fulfillment, WHO would do its best to stimulate from voluntary sources the complement of resources which, combined with the technical cooperation that WHO itself could provide, would permit rapid progress toward the goal.

INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION

In 1977, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Angola, the Seychelles, Gambia, North Korea, and Guinea-Bissau adhered to the 1944 Chicago Convention on International Civil Aviation, increasing ICAO's membership to 142. In October the ICAO Council reelected Dr. Assad Kotaite (Lebanon) President for a 3-year term.

Assembly

The 22nd session of the ICAO Assembly was held in Montreal, September 13-October 4, with 127 members participating. The United States joined in the Assembly approval of the work program and the net assessment budget of \$52,760,000 for the 1978-80 triennium. The United States and all other states serving on the 1974-77 Council, except those self-imposed regional rotation schemes, were reelected for 3-year terms. The United States was successful in having the Assembly adopt its proposal for a resolution on aircraft noise. The Assembly approved the recommendations of the April Special Air Transport Conference (see below), which had been forwarded by the Council. An attempt to place in the ICAO budget technical assistance funds for fellowships was blocked, and a substitute proposal to try to have the UNDP change its policy on fellowships was adopted. The United States succeeded by a narrow margin in achieving Assembly adoption of its proposal for a study of ICAO language costs.

A separate international conference, held in Montreal in con-

junction with the Assembly, adopted a Russian text of the Chicago Convention.

Council

The ICAO Council, the executive body of the organization, has 30 members; an amendment to increase the membership to 33 was in the process of ratification during 1977. The Council and its four standing committees--Air Transport, Joint Support, Unlawful Interference, and Finance--meet at ICAO headquarters in Montreal during much of the year. One of the Council's most important functions is the adoption of international Standards and Recommended Practices (SARPS) concerned with the safety, regularity, and efficiency of air navigation, which are contained in various technical annexes to the Chicago Convention. During 1977 the Council adopted a number of amendments to these annexes.

The Council and its Committee on Unlawful Interference approved a series of measures to strengthen the Security Annex of the Chicago Convention, which sets forth SARPS to prevent such unlawful interference with civil aviation as hijacking and other terrorist acts. Member states have been notified of these changes, and are required by a certain date either to comply or to inform the organization of their differences. ICAO intensified its consideration of further measures to curb unlawful interference with civil aviation following the September Japan Airlines and October Lufthansa Airlines hijackings, and the adoption by the UN General Assembly on November 3 of a resolution condemning terrorist acts against aircraft (see also p. 68). On December 2 the Council adopted a special resolution urging states, as a matter of urgency, to implement ICAO's security measures.

The Council also undertook the implementation of a number of recommendations of the Third ICAO Conference on the 1956 Danish and Icelandic Joint Financing Agreements, held in Montreal in March. These included in consultation with Denmark and Iceland, the withdrawal before 1979 of joint financing from a number of meteorological and communications facilities in Greenland and Iceland; review of the percentage allocation to international civil aviation of costs for meteorological services; and the establishment of a panel to study possible changes in the way flights across the North Atlantic are charged under the Agreements.

The Council spent considerable time preparing for the 22nd Assembly. Among other tasks, it completed its review of the proposed work program and budget for the 1978-80 triennium.

The Council agreed that a certification scheme by the control of emissions in the vicinity of airports from turbo-jet and turbo-fan engines for subsonic aircraft should be published as guidance material for states. The Council decided that further work on engine emissions should be undertaken by a Committee on Aircraft Engine Emissions. This technical committee of the Council is similar to the existing Committee on Aircraft Noise and, unlike the standing committees, will meet only periodically. The creation of this new committee demonstrates ICAO's increasing concern for aviation noise and pollution problems.

Air Navigation Activities

The 1944 Chicago Convention established the Air Navigation Commission to advise the Council on "all information which it considers necessary and useful for the advancement of air navigation." The Commission consists of 15 air navigation specialists nominated by states (including one by the United States), and much of ICAO's work is done under its auspices. The Commission convenes a wide variety of technical panels, many of which met at Montreal during 1977. The United States participated in all these activities.

In January, the Dangerous Goods Panel developed a preliminary set of SARPS relating to the classification, packaging, labeling, handling, and loading of dangerous goods. It also developed draft specifications relating to procedures for notification, training, compliance, and other aspects of the transport of dangerous goods. In May the Panel began to develop the technical guidance material necessary to support these SARPS, but due to the volume of work involved was unable to complete this task. It provided for working groups to carry out further work on the detailed dangerous goods list and on detailed packaging requirements.

The sixth meeting of the All-Weather Operations Panel was held at Montreal from February 28 to March 18 to consider proposals for a new microwave landing system to replace, over a period of time, the instrument landing systems now used at international (and domestic) airports. The Panel decided, by a vote of 6 to 4, that the U.S.-proposed system be recommended for adoption by the April 1978 All-Weather Operations Divisional Meeting. (Other systems being considered were those of the United Kingdom and West Germany.)

The Automated Data Interchange Systems Panel, which held its seventh meeting in May and June, made considerable progress in the development of SARPS and guidance material for automated data interchange on medium and high speeds. It introduced a recommendation regarding character-oriented procedures and developed an updated reference report on automated air-ground data interchange.

The first meeting of the Operations Panel was held October 11-28. The major task assigned to the Panel concerned the development of criteria for the establishment of operating minima for take-off and landing. The Panel initiated a study of the provisions of ICAO Annex 6, Part I, related to the carriage of airplane instruments and equipment required for precision approach operations to specific minima. It agreed upon a detailed work program designed to provide draft amendments to Annex 16, Part V, and associated guidance material for consideration at the next meeting of the ICAO Committee on Aircraft Noise. The Panel also agreed that, during Category II and III operating conditions, the visual approach slope indicator system should be interpreted with caution below 200 feet, and developed guidance material for the use of states.

Air Transport Activities

The Special Air Transport Conference, the first in ICAO's 30-year history, took place in Montreal, April 13-26. The Conference adopted 20 recommendations on which the Council took action during

its spring session. The Council then reported to the Assembly on the recommendations regarding tariff enforcement, policy concerning international nonscheduled air transport, and regulation of capacity in international air transport services. The Council also reported to the Assembly on the subject of machinery for the establishment of international fares and rates on the basis of both the Conference's recommendations and those of the first meeting of the Fares and Rates Panel held in December 1976. The Assembly approved all these recommendations.

At its second meeting, held November 21-December 2, the Panel adopted three recommendations dealing with government consultation on tariff matters suggesting that: (1) government orders should have a fixed termination date; (2) government orders which are discriminatory or which differ significantly from the existing fare structure should be avoided; and (3) modifications or reservations of International Air Transport Association agreements which have an adverse effect on the existing fare structure should be avoided.

Legal Activities

The United States participated in a number of legal activities carried out during the year in Montreal.

The Legal Subcommittee met in March and April to consider the problems raised by Articles 12, 31, and 32 of the Chicago Convention when an aircraft registered in one state is operated by an operator belonging to another state; specifically, whether and in what manner the Convention should be amended to take account of those problems. A draft amendment acceptable to the U.S. was developed and reported to the Legal Committee.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL MARITIME CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION

Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Qatar joined IMCO during 1977, bringing the total membership to 104 full members and 1 associate member.

Organization

Since its inception in 1959 IMCO has been head-quartered in London. The purposes of IMCO are to provide a forum of cooperation among maritime states in technical matters of all kinds affecting shipping engaged in international trade; to encourage the adoption of the highest practicable standards of maritime safety, efficiency of navigation, and the prevention and control of marine pollution from ships; to remove discriminatory restrictions affecting shipping engaged in international trade; to consider any matters concerning shipping referred to it by the United Nations; and to exchange information among governments on technical matters concerning shipping. The principal products of IMCO are conventions, agreements, and other suitable instruments adopted by member governments at IMCO biennial assemblies or at diplomatic conferences convened by IMCO.

The work of IMCO is accomplished through various forums:

the Assembly of all members; the Council;¹³⁷the committees, generally composed of all members--Maritime Safety (MSC),¹³⁸Marine Environment Protection (MEPC), Legal, Facilitation, and Technical Cooperation; and various technical subcommittees of the MSC and MEPC. Proposals initiated in subcommittees are referred for review to the appropriate committees, and proposals of the committees are reviewed by the Council and referred to the Assembly for final approval. Major conventions are elaborated and adopted by plenipotentiary conferences.

In 1977 the principal activity of IMCO was consideration of the U.S. initiatives on tanker safety and pollution prevention in preparation for a plenipotentiary conference, to be held in London in February 1978, to adopt Protocols to the 1974 Convention on Safety of Life at Sea (SOLAS 74) and the 1973 Convention on Prevention of Pollution from Ships (MARPOL 73).

The U.S. proposals had as their objective the reduction and eventual elimination of oil pollution caused by tanker accidents or by routine operational discharges from vessels. They called for the following ship construction and equipment changes on all oil tankers over 20,000 dead weight tons: (1) double bottoms (only for new tankers), (2) segregated ballast tanks, (3) inert gas systems, (4) an auxilliary radar system with collision avoidance equipment, and (5) improved emergency steering. Where technological improvements and alternatives could be shown to provide the same degree of protection against pollution, they would be acceptable as alternatives. The United States also called for an improved international system of inspection and certification of tankers and their crews.

After their presentation to IMCO in April 1977, the U.S. proposals were considered in the MSC, the MEPC, and three special ad hoc committees. The IMCO Council and Assembly approved the work program and funding for the 1977 special meetings and the 1978 plenipotentiary conference. Final preparations for the conference were made in October at a special joint MSC/MEPC meeting.

Council

At its 38th regular session, May 23-27, the Council reviewed the draft budget, salaries, work program, headquarters facilities, technical cooperation program and funding (through UNDP, UNEP, and trust funds), and reports of the technical committees on safety and environment. It made recommendations for the disposition of the 1976-77 budget surplus; accepted a new agreement with the UN Joint Inspection Unit; and approved a new 4-year contract for the Secretary General.

Assembly

At its 10th regular session, November 7-18, the Assembly elected 24 members to the Council (with the United States receiving the highest vote among major shipowning countries); approved the 1978-79 work program and budget (\$12,414,300); approved the U.S.-proposed

¹³⁷/ Enlarged from 18 to 24 on Apr. 1, 1978.

¹³⁸/ Enlarged from 16 to all members on Apr. 1, 1978.

amendments to the IMCO Charter;¹³⁹ approved the Council's renewal of the Secretary General's contract; and approved the reports of the Council and the five permanent committees.

Maritime Safety Committee

From March 7 to April 2, Spain hosted at Torremolinos an international conference at which participating members elaborated a new Convention on Safety of Fishing Vessels. The preparatory work had been done under MSC auspices. The remainder of the year was devoted mainly to preparations for the plenipotentiary conference on the U.S. initiatives on tanker safety and pollution prevention. Technical work was also continued on standards of training and watchkeeping (for an international conference to be sponsored jointly with the ILO in June 1978), carriage of dangerous goods, search and rescue, fire protection, safety of navigation, casualty reporting, sub-standard ships, and radio-communications.

Marine Environment Protection Committee

The requisite number of ratifications having been deposited with IMCO during 1977, the 1969 amendments to the 1954 Oil Pollution Convention entered into force January 20, 1978. The MEPC worked on the problems of implementation and enforcement of the 1969 amendments and also encouraged governments to ratify the 1973 Marine Pollution Convention. Considerable time was also devoted to the problems of bulk chemicals, oily water separation, reception facilities in ports, pollution dispersants, and monitoring and control equipment.

Technical Cooperation Committee

The Technical Cooperation Committee had a very successful year in IMCO. It was institutionalized during 1977, giving it permanent status along side MSC, MEPC, and the Legal Committee. Funding for technical cooperation activities, which in IMCO must be by "other than assessed budget funds," continued to increase. UNDP funded certain regional and interregional projects that were too big for any one country's Indicative Planning Figure; UNEP shared the costs with IMCO on certain antipollution projects; and several countries, both recipients and donors, provided increased trust funds for technical cooperation projects.

Legal Committee

The Legal Committee held two sessions in 1977. The principal item considered was civil liability for pollution damage from substances other than oil. (Liability for oil pollution damage was covered by the 1969 Convention on Civil Liability for Oil Pollution Damage.) The Committee also reviewed the Comprehensive Anti-Pol-

¹³⁹ / In the spring of 1976 the U.S. proposed amendments that would broaden the IMCO Charter to cover ship-source marine pollution and to provide the organization with the necessary administrative authority should the Law of the Sea Conference request it to assume additional functions in this area. The amendments have been submitted to states for ratification.

lution Manual prepared by MEPC; the draft manual on possible intervention to prevent pollution; and the draft convention on maritime search and rescue. There remained on the Committee's work program the problems concerning wreck removal and related issues; regime of vessels in foreign ports; legal status of aerodynamically supported vessels; civil jurisdiction in respect to collisions; arrest of ships at sea; and mortgages on vessels.

Facilitation Committee

At its 11th session, in April 1977, the Facilitation Committee approved the texts of 10 proposed amendments to the Annex of the 1965 Facilitation Convention. These amendments were subsequently adopted at a diplomatic conference held in November 1977. The amendments, in whose formulation the United States actively participated, deal with facilitation of container movements; provision of emergency medical treatment for passengers and crew; provision of relief supplies in times of natural disaster; reduction of red tape applicable to transit passengers; facilitation of the work of scientific research vessels; use of standardized symbol-signs at marine terminals; automatic data processing procedures; and improved storage for valuable cargoes.

INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION

During 1977, Djibouti and San Marino acceded to the International Telecommunication Union Convention, bringing the total membership of the ITU at the end of 1977 to 154.

Administrative Council

The Administrative Council, of which the United States is a member, held its 32nd session in Geneva, May 23-June 10, 1977. Unlike recent years when it has been necessary for the Council to reduce a draft budget showing a substantial increase over the preceding year, the Council in 1977 received from the Secretary General a draft 1978 Ordinary Budget only 5% greater than the 1977 draft budget. The United States joined in the Council's approval of a 1978 budget of 60.6 million Swiss francs, which was only 3% higher than that approved for 1977, despite the fact that it provided for two major conferences--The World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC) on the Aeronautical Mobile (R) Service and the 14th plenary assembly of the International Radio Consultative Committee (CCIR). The principal deductions from the draft budget stemmed from the Council's rejection of the Secretary General's proposal to transfer 12 posts from the Publications to the Ordinary Budget, and a decrease in the Reserve Account appropriation to 777,000 Swiss francs. The latter reduction was possible because South Africa, which had withheld its annual contribution since 1973 when it was denied the right to participate in ITU conferences and meetings, agreed to pay its arrears and future assessments, thus obviating the need to cover its delinquent contributions through use of the Reserve Account. The U.S. share of the assessment in 1978 is 7%.

The Council reviewed the agenda adopted at its previous session for the 1979 WARC, which will undertake a general revision of the

Radio Regulations. Taking into account comments received in the past year, it adopted a modified agenda which was then approved by a majority of the ITU members in response to a circular telegram. The Council also approved a resolution inviting the CCIR to convene a 4-week special preparatory meeting in October 1978 to carry out any necessary studies in preparation for the 1979 WARC.

Other Permanent Organs

The permanent technical organs of the ITU--the CCIR, the International Telegraph and Telephone Consultative Committee (CCITT), and the International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB)--were all active during 1977.

CCIR's Study Groups continued their work for the period 1974-77 pursuant to the program approved by the 13th plenary Assembly of the CCIR in 1974. The CCIR studies and develops recommendations on the technical and operating aspects of all forms of radiocommunications. During 1977, a major purpose of the CCIR Study Groups was to prepare the technical basis for coming world administrative radio conferences, specifically the two scheduled for 1978 and 1979.

CCITT's Study Groups continued their work for the period 1976-79 pursuant to the program approved for them by the seventh plenary Assembly of the CCITT in 1976. Studies of technical, operating, and tariff questions with respect to telegraphy and telephony are being undertaken to further the development of recommendations which largely govern the operation of the world's telecommunication networks.

The essential function of the IFRB is the technical examination and registration of radio frequency notifications, including those for space telecommunication systems, in order to ensure interference-free operations throughout the world. The IFRB and its staff continued to carry out this function fully and effectively.

Technical Assistance

As a UNDP executing agency, the ITU assists developing nations to improve their telecommunication capabilities by the establishment and staffing of training institutes; a program of technical telecommunications seminars; and the recruitment of technical experts from developed countries, including the United States, to advise on specific telecommunications projects and to conduct studies in developing countries.

UNDP financial difficulties in recent years, which had resulted in withdrawal of funds for support of regional telecommunications experts, led to a request by several developing countries on the Administrative Council for an alternative funding mechanism. They suggested use of the Ordinary Budget's "interest account." However, use of that account for technical assistance was not acceptable to the United States and several other members of the Council. A temporary alternate source of funds not drawing on the Ordinary Budget was authorized, but if UNDP support of regional experts is not reestablished, renewed interest in use of the Ordinary Budget can be expected.

UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION

During 1977 Angola, Sao Tome and Principe, and Seychelles became members of the UPU, bringing the membership by the end of the year to 159.

The 40-member Executive Council is the Union's administrative body, and the 35-member Consultative Council for Postal Studies (CCPS) is its technical body. Because UPU regulations limit Executive Council membership to two consecutive 5-year terms, the United States, which had been a member following the Vienna Congress (1964) and the Tokyo Congress (1969), was ineligible for membership for the 5 years following the Lausanne Congress in 1974. The United States is, however, a Vice Chairman of the CCPS, and in that capacity may attend the Executive Council meetings as an observer.

Executive Council

At its annual meeting, held in May 1977 at UPU headquarters in Bern, Switzerland, the Executive Council reviewed various studies undertaken by the CCPS. The studies, which will continue through 1978 and be referred for decision to the 1979 Congress, included the following subjects of interest to the United States: transit and terminal charges for postal services, and the factors to be considered in fixing rate scales; maximizing the use of air mail, and speeding up the handling of air mail on the ground; size limits of postal parcels; customs treatment of postal items; and conditions of acceptance of letter-post items. The Council approved estimated budgets of 15,973,200 Swiss francs for 1977 and 16,160,400 Swiss francs for 1978.

The United States gave 1-year notice, effective January 1, 1977, of its intention to withdraw the second membership for the "Whole of the Territories of the United States of America, including the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands." Beginning January 1, 1978, those areas for which the United States previously maintained a second membership will be included in the single U.S. membership. No practical effect in postal service is envisioned by this action, but the U.S. assessment will be reduced by 15 contributory units, for a savings of some \$85,000 per year beginning January 1, 1978.

In addition to serving as an executing agency for UNDP-financed postal projects, the UPU maintains a voluntary Special Fund of its own for technical assistance. By the time of the Executive Council meeting 20 states and one restricted postal union had pledged 581,266 Swiss francs to the UPU Special Fund for 1977. The United States does not contribute to this fund.

Consultative Council for Postal Studies

The CCPS met in Bern in November 1977. For the period 1974-79 the United States serves as Vice Chairman of Committee I of the CCPS. In this capacity representatives of the U.S. Postal Service are responsible for directing 17 study groups, which lead investigations on the technical, operational, and financial aspects of the postal

service.

Among the CCPS studies with special significance for the United States are those concerning computer usage in postal services; standardization of the address location on regular and window envelopes; security of high value items, especially those conveyed by air; the properties of envelopes and items affixed to envelopes as they pertain to the use and effectiveness of Optical Character Reading and Bar Code Reading; and containerization of postal items. In addition to progress reports on these studies, the 1977 CCPS turned attention to the postal services in general in light of increasing costs, the changing postal market, and the effect of new technologies on traditional concepts of postal communication. It also began preliminary consideration of a CCPS study program for the period 1979-84.

WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION

With the accession of Seychelles, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau the membership of the WMO at the end of 1977 included 140 states and 7 territories. The 29th annual session of the Executive Committee was held at the WMO headquarters in Geneva, May 26-June 16, 1977, under the chairmanship of M. F. Taha (Egypt).

World Weather Watch

The WMO inaugurated the World Weather Watch (WWW) in 1967 to provide meteorological data on a comprehensive, worldwide basis in order to improve the domestic weather forecasting systems of member states. The Executive Committee considered both the report of the extraordinary session of its commission on basic systems and the report of the Secretary General on the state of implementation of the WWW. Some concern was expressed that despite great efforts the WWW had not been fully satisfactory. The factors which had contributed to this situation were noted and an action program formulated in which participation by both the WMO secretariat and the members would be required. A plan of action for monitoring the operation of WWW was approved. The Committee also approved procedures for the preparation of the WWW plan for 1980-83, to be reviewed by the Executive Committee in 1978 prior to its consideration by the eighth quadrennial Congress of WMO in 1979.

The Committee reviewed progress within the WMO Tropical Cyclone Project and examined the need for a general revision of the plan of action for both the project and its initial implementation program. The WMO Secretary General was requested to undertake a review of the latter and to submit appropriate proposals to the eighth Congress. He was also requested to prepare a draft policy statement on marine meteorological and related oceanographic activities for the period 1980-83 for review by the Executive Committee and submission to the Congress.

Global Atmospheric Research Program

The Global Atmospheric Research Program (GARP), established in 1967, is a joint undertaking of the WMO and the International Council of Scientific Unions (ICSU). It is the research arm of the

WWW. The schedule for the First GARP Global Experiment (FGGE) was slightly revised so that the main experiment will start on December 1, 1978, and last for 1 year. This will be preceded by a build-up year from December 1, 1977. The FGGE is intended primarily as an observational and data gathering effort. During the experiment, the entire global atmosphere and the surface of the oceans will be observed with unprecedented completeness and detail through the global observing system. During the two special observing periods, especially implemented systems will further complete the observational coverage required for detailed analysis and research. Finally, an internationally organized data-management system will produce carefully organized data tailored to the needs of the research community.

Despite significant progress toward meeting the requirements of FGGE, the Committee noted that the available resources were still not adequate to carry out the experiment as originally conceived, although the essential objectives of the experiment would be met. There was a particular need for additional observations in the equatorial tropics, especially windsondings. An appeal was made to governments to commit additional resources, especially to provide the means for obtaining additional upper air sounding units in the equatorial tropics. Members were also urged to consider increasing their contributions to FGGE and to assist in all possible ways in up-grading the WWW in their respective territories.

Weather Modification Program

The status of the planning of the Precipitation Enhancement Project (PEP) was reviewed. A study is being made of the possible sites for the field experiment on the basis of the report of the first session of an Interim PEP Board. The Secretary General was requested to prepare a detailed operational plan for the field phase together with estimates of the costs for submission to the Executive Committee in 1978 with a view to making appropriate recommendations to the eighth Congress. The Committee considered undertaking an internationally organized experimental project in hail suppression, but decided to review the proposal in a year's time after further examination had been undertaken by the Secretary General.

Climatic Change

The Committee examined an outline of the World Climate Program which had been prepared by the Executive Committee's panel of experts on climatic change. It was decided that the activities within the program should be grouped under four headings: (1) climate monitoring and climate data services, (2) natural climatic change and variability, (3) human impact on climate, and (4) the impact of climatic change and variability on human activities. Appropriate steps were taken for the development of the program so that a detailed plan would be available in 1979 before the next Congress.

World Climate Conference

The Committee decided to convene a high-level scientific and technical conference early in 1979, to be known as the World Climate Conference. Attendance would be by meteorologists and experts from all the climate sensitive branches of the economy, including agriculture, energy, water resources, fisheries, and health. The topics

to be discussed at the conference were approved and it was decided that in the light of the results of the conference, consideration would be given to convening a conference at ministerial level.

Meteorological Applications and Environment

The plan for 1978 for agrometeorological activities in aid of food production was approved. Essentially a continuation of the activities set forth for 1977, it will mainly concern the provision of assistance to developing countries for the strengthening of their services in this area. It was agreed that the expertise on the Executive Committee's panel on environmental pollution should be broadened so it would provide the best advice on an integrated approach to the monitoring of background pollution in the atmosphere, inland waters, oceans, soil, and biota. This panel was also requested to study, in close cooperation with UNEP and the ICSU special committee on problems of the environment, the possibility of carrying out an international experiment with multimedia monitoring of pollution, using certain biosphere reserves or stations within the WMO background pollution network.

The Committee noted that action was being taken, in close collaboration with IAEA, for the preparation of a Technical Note dealing with the meteorological and hydrological aspects of nuclear power plant siting and operation. This subject is on the priority list in the WMO plan of action in the field of energy problems. Encouragement was given for the continued collaboration of WMO in ensuring that meteorological and hydrological factors were taken into account when IAEA prepared its guides on codes and safety relating to nuclear power plants.

Hydrology and Water Resources Development

The Executive Committee examined the recommendations made at the fifth session of its commission for hydrology (Ottawa, 1976), and took note of the proposals made by the President of the commission on hydrological operational multipurpose system. It was considered, however, that the implementation of the system would include questions of a scientific and technical, as well as of an organizational and financial category. It was, therefore, decided to consider the matter further at the next session and directives were given for the necessary studies to be made in the meantime. The decisions of the UN Water Conference which relate to the activities of WMO were noted, and the Secretary General was requested to consider ways of implementing those decisions which would not require additional financial resources. He was also requested to submit to the eighth Congress proposals concerning the other decisions of the conference.

The Secretary General was authorized to initiate the preparations for convening jointly with UNESCO the second UNESCO/WMO international conference in hydrology. This conference is to be held in 1980 and will deal with the long-term planning of programs of both organizations in the field of hydrology.

Finances

The committee approved a budget of \$11,824,000 for 1978. This

will be the third of the 4-year financial periods geared to the quadrennial meetings of the WMO Congress. The seventh Congress in 1975 adopted an assessed budget of about \$40 million and authorized the Executive Committee to exceed this ceiling by amounts necessary to cover the cost of increases in staff emoluments deriving from actions of the United Nations, provided the Executive Committee was satisfied that such increases could not be absorbed through economies elsewhere in the budget. In 1977, the United States continued its support of the voluntary assistance program, originally established in 1967 to fill gaps in the WWW, contributing \$2 million to the program--\$150,000 in cash and the remainder in equipment, technical assistance, and long-term fellowships.

INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY

The objectives of the IAEA as set forth in its Statute are to seek to accelerate and enlarge the contribution of atomic energy to peace, health, and prosperity throughout the world and to ensure that assistance provided by it, or at its request, or under its supervision and control is not used in such a way as to further any military purpose. Thus, the Agency is mandated to discharge important responsibilities regarding the promotion of nuclear development as well as to monitor the use of nuclear materials in all its member states.

The IAEA's membership rose to 110 in 1977 with the addition of Nicaragua. 1977 was the 20th anniversary of IAEA's creation. The occasion was marked by the Agency's International Conference on Nuclear Power and its Fuel Cycle in Salzburg and by ceremonies at the annual General Conference.

General Conference and the Board of Governors Meetings

In accord with its usual practice, the General Conference met in Vienna in September 1977 and the Board of Governors, composed of 34 countries, convened in February, June, September and in a special session in November to discuss the Agency's participation in the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation (INFCE).

The General Conference had a full agenda including debate on the Agency's accounts for 1976, the 1977 and 1978 budgets, the assessment of members' contributions for 1978, and the election of 12 new members to the Board of Governors for the next two years. A United States draft resolution on the elaboration of a convention on physical protection of nuclear materials, facilities and transports were adopted by the Conference.

The 1977 General Conference marked a welcome change from the highly politicized atmosphere of confrontation which was prevalent in the 1976 conference. The conference completed its business in record time and achieved consensus on all items that it considered. The issue of South Africa's place in the Agency was not raised during the conference in such a way as to cause serious difficulties for those countries supporting continued South African participation in the Agency. Seven of the seventeen members on the General Committee made statements opposing acceptance of the South African

credentials. The Chairman, Mr. Etemad of Iran, proposed that the Committee recommend the General Conference approve the participation of all delegates, and his suggestion was adopted by consensus, thereby avoiding confrontation. He also agreed to have reflected in the Committee's report unanimous opposition to apartheid.

However, South Africa was the focus of much attention at the earlier June meeting of the Board of Governors. Each year in June the incumbent Board designates those countries which are most advanced in the technology of atomic energy in certain geographic areas to serve on the Board. The African members of the Board took the position that South Africa was an unsuitable representative of Africa and led a successful campaign to designate Egypt in South Africa's place. However, the U.S. and other developed countries from the West criticized the proposed designation of Egypt as a violation of the criterion for such designation that is set out in the IAEA's Statute, and they voted against Egypt and for South Africa. Although there was significant opposition to Egypt's designation (20 in favor to 12 opposed (U.S.) with 2 abstentions), Egypt was designated in South Africa's place.

Another important political issue at the General Conference was the question of the expansion of the Board of Governors. The Pakistani-Nigerian proposal for an expansion of the Board by five seats to be divided between the regions of Africa, and the Middle-East and South Asia was first raised at the Board of Governors meeting in February 1977. It was discussed again at the June and September Boards and was inscribed on the General Conference agenda. This proposal was discussed by the Committee of the Whole, but never reached the plenary because the sponsors realized that they did not have the necessary votes^{140/} The opposition to the expansion was led by the United States and other Western European countries and joined by the Soviet Union and the Eastern European countries. In accepting a resolution which called for further consideration of this matter by the Board and for inscription of the question on the agenda of the 1978 General Conference, the proposal's supporters gave notice that they intend to persist in their effort to expand the Board.

General Assembly Consideration

This issue arose again in the fall of 1977 during consideration by the 32nd General Assembly of the AIEA's Annual Report. On October 31 in a plenary Assembly meeting, Malaysia, as Chairman of the IAEA Board of Governors, introduced an essentially procedural resolution on the report of the IAEA. The resolution was co-sponsored by the Federal Republic of Germany and Malaysia, Board Vice-Chairmen. On November 4 in plenary, Nigeria introduced an amendment, sponsored also by Algeria, Pakistan and Yugoslavia, inviting the IAEA to increase the representation of developing countries on the IAEA Board of Governors. After certain modifications of the language of the amendment to reflect concerns of

^{140/} Expansion of the Board would entail amending the IAEA Statute, requiring a two-thirds vote of the members present at the conference and subsequent ratification by two-thirds of the entire membership.

developed countries, the amendment was incorporated in the resolution, which the Assembly adopted by consensus on December 8.^{141/}

The resolution, as amended, invited the IAEA to give due consideration to the request of developing countries for an increase in their representation on the Board of Governors in accordance with the principle of equitable geographical distribution.

Safeguards

As specified in the Agency's Statute, one of the IAEA's major functions is to ensure that nuclear materials and equipment intended for peaceful use are not diverted to military purposes. The significance of this function was re-enforced considerably as a result of the entry into force of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1970. Under the provisions of Article III of the NPT, each non-nuclear-weapon state party to the treaty undertakes to place all its source or special fissionable material and all its peaceful nuclear activities under IAEA safeguards. By the end of 1977, the IAEA Board of Governors had approved safeguards agreements under the NPT with 74 countries. In that year, the Agency carried out 706 inspections in 45 states.

The IAEA, with significant U.S. participation, actively pursued the safeguards research and development program aimed at coordinating national programs with its own efforts to improve safeguard techniques and instrumentation. Particular emphasis is being placed on sensitive facilities, such as reprocessing and enrichment plants. In support of this effort, the U.S. made a special contribution of \$4.6 million to the IAEA in 1977 earmarked specifically for support of safeguards activities. These funds are being used for a variety of purposes including the development of equipment needed for inspections, the support of inspection training on the use of instruments for nondestructive analysis, the provision of experts to the Agency for short periods to assist in specific projects and the preparation of research studies of immediate use to the IAEA Safeguards Department.

In 1977, the first Special Safeguards Implementation Report (SSIR), covering the year 1976, was submitted to the Board of Governors. The principal conclusion of the report was that the Agency had not detected diversion of safeguarded material in any of the states in which the Agency carried out inspections in 1976.

Technical Assistance

The main objectives of the Agency's technical assistance program are to promote the transfer of skills and knowledge relating to the peaceful uses of atomic energy and to support the efforts made by recipient countries to carry out their atomic energy activities more efficiently and safely.

As a part of the 1977 IAEA technical assistance program, expert services and equipment were provided to member states in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Latin America and Europe. Member

^{141/} Resolution 32/49.

states benefited from fellowships offered by the IAEA and by the United States and other contributors. The Agency also organized a number of interregional specialized training courses and study tours for nationals of developing member states and continued to execute a number of projects funded by the UNDP.

The United States considers it important to assist the Agency in maintaining a balance among the different components of its program. It has therefore consistently supported the IAEA technical assistance program over the years through provision of experts' services, equipment, and fellowships; and through the support of IAEA training courses in the United States and through cash contributions. The total U.S. voluntary contribution for technical assistance in 1977 was \$4.4 million of which \$1,650,600 was in cash to the Agency and the remainder was in the form of goods and services.

Nuclear Safety and Environmental Protection

The Agency's work on Safety Codes and Guides for nuclear power plants has made commendable progress; codes on siting, design operation, government organization, and quality assurance have been completed. In addition, 25 safety guides are expected to be completed by 1980.

During 1977, the IAEA sent nuclear plant safety missions to 11 member states to assist in selecting sites or to make safety evaluations for new plants; 9 countries received safety missions to advise on the safe operation of research reactors. An advisory group recommended an expanded program in the area of safe transport of radioactive materials. The increased activity will assist members to apply transport regulations effectively. The Agency also began the preparation of guidelines for the disposal of radioactive wastes into geological formations.

Nuclear Power and Reactors

This program provides integrated assistance to member states in planning and implementing nuclear power programs for electricity generation and other purposes. The program assists states directly through the technical and economic assessment of programs, the execution of reactor projects and supply of nuclear materials. It assesses the future role of nuclear power in meeting world energy demands within the constraints imposed by environmental and financial factors.

The International Conference on Nuclear Power and its Fuel Cycle held in May 1977 in Salzburg gave an opportunity to decision makers in the nuclear field to exchange views on the prospects of nuclear energy and on the non-proliferation risks of various parts of the fuel cycle.

The Agency is providing technical assistance in uranium exploration, development of ore deposits and ore processing to 27 countries.

Science Programs

The IAEA's programs in food and agriculture, physical sciences

and life sciences are implemented by means of research contracts, meetings, publications and technical assistance.

The joint FAO/IAEA program on food and agriculture is designed to help developing member states to apply isotope and radiation techniques in production and protection of food and in protecting the environment from damage caused by mistakes in the utilization of fertilizers and pesticides. The Agency and Nigeria have signed a large-scale project agreement for suppressing the tsetse fly by the sterile insect technique, a project which is of interest to a number of developing member states; the initial phases of the project are being implemented. The IAEA is continuing work on the use of isotopes to study the water requirements of livestock in arid and semi-arid environments. These investigations have been successful in identifying species and breeds of animals that are able to maintain reproduction and growth under conditions of water restriction.

The physical sciences program stimulates research, fosters information and data exchange, and coordinates and develops the efforts of scientists in different countries on such subjects as the physics and chemistry of fission, the application of nuclear techniques in industry, isotope hydrology fusion physics, the chemistry of nuclear materials, and dissemination of nuclear data. The Agency's Seibersdorf Laboratory assisted in some aspects of the physical science program, particularly on analytical services related to possibilities of uranium discovery in member states.

The objective of the life sciences program is to foster the development of methods and techniques for the application of radioisotopes in medicine and biology and to encourage the use of nuclear techniques in various domains of environmental research. In an effort to lend better perspective to public concern about the effects of nuclear power, the Agency has undertaken an assessment of the biological hazards of major chemical pollutants compared with those of radiation. Nuclear medicine instrument systems are being reviewed with regard to technical requirements for their effective use in developing countries.

Nuclear Information

Since its initiation in 1970, the Agency's International Nuclear Information System (INIS) has established an excellent record in the collection and dissemination of information on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

The number of member states participating in INIS increased by 3 members to 52 in 1977. Together with 13 international organizations, these countries contributed over 69,000 items of input to the system in 1977, bringing the total size of the information file to almost 350,000 items. The publication of U.S. Nuclear Science Abstracts ceased in 1976 and INIS is now the world's only comprehensive abstracting and indexing service in the field of atomic energy.

International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation (INFCE)

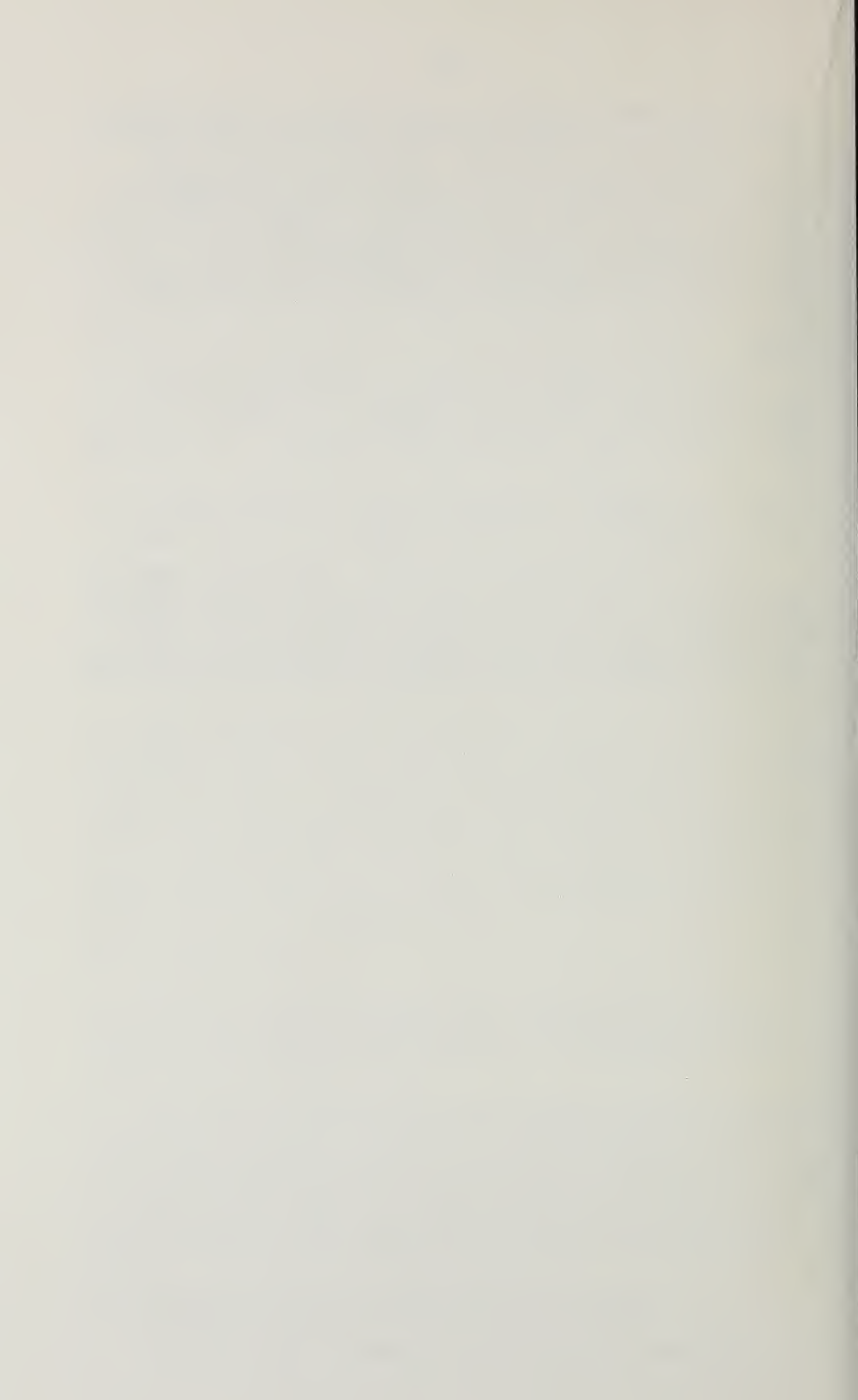
In October 1977, the organizing conference of the International

Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation, a United States initiative, was held in Washington. The purpose of this initiative is to explore with the fifty or so participants the means of minimizing the danger of proliferation without jeopardizing the development or supply of nuclear energy. The IAEA is one of the participants, and from the inception it was agreed that IAEA would play a special role providing secretariat and other administrative services for the evaluation as well as providing scientific and technical input to the studies. This evaluation will continue through early 1980.

Budget

The IAEA is financed by means of a regular budget and an operational budget. The former is supported by members' assessed contributions and the Agency's income from other sources, i.e., sales of publications, joint services arrangements with UNIDO, and the like. The assessments are levied on member states according to a scale based on the UN scale of assessments modified slightly to reflect the component of safeguards costs. The operational budget is mainly supported by voluntary contributions of member states.

The 21st General Conference adopted a total regular budget for 1978 of \$51,379,000. The U.S. rate on the scale of assessment was established at 26.29%, a decrease in assessment of 1.6% over 1977. The General Conference also allocated \$8,505,000 to the Agency's operational program for 1978, of which \$7 million was to come from Voluntary Contributions and the remainder from other sources.



PART III.

TRUSTEESHIP AND DEPENDENT AREAS



Although the number of non-self-governing territories has steadily declined over the years, there is still considerable UN interest in those areas it considers to be colonial. UN consideration of dependent area questions is carried out principally in three bodies--the Trusteeship Council, the General Assembly's Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Committee of 24, and the General Assembly's Fourth Committee (Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories). Additionally, in 1977, the General Assembly considered Namibia directly in plenary meetings, without prior referral to a main committee, and the Security Council considered Southern Rhodesia.

Chapter XI of the UN Charter sets forth the responsibilities of states for "the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government." These "non-self-governing territories" are considered annually by the Committee of 24, which is charged with making suggestions and recommendations to the General Assembly with regard to the implementation of resolution 1514, the "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," which was adopted by the 15th Assembly in 1960. In 1977 the Committee of 24 consisted of Afghanistan, Australia, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Norway, Sierra Leone, Syria, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia. (The United States was a member until 1971.)

In 1977 much of the Committee's attention continued to be devoted to the large southern African territories of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, but it also paid substantial attention to other territories, including American Samoa, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands. The United States participates in the Committee's deliberations on the latter territories and annually transmits to the United Nations information on them in accordance with Article 73e of the Charter. During 1977 the Committee accepted a U.S. invitation to send a visiting mission to observe conditions in the Virgin Islands. This was the first such invitation to a U.S. territory. The Committee also considers conditions in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands and the question of the status of Puerto Rico, but the United States does not consider either to be within the jurisdiction of the Committee and does not participate in the discussion of these areas. On September 2, 1977, the Committee voted to conclude its annual discussion of Puerto Rico without voting on a Cuban draft resolution that, if approved, would have declared Puerto Rico a U.S. colony.

The Committee also considered a number of issues related to colonialism generally, such as the activities of foreign economic and other interests seen by the Committee as impeding the process of decolonization, military activities by colonial powers seen by it as impeding decolonization, and activities by specialized agencies and other UN bodies that might assist the process of decolonization.

The United States takes basic exception to the view that has come to predominate in the Committee and the General Assembly equating self-determination with independence. The U.S. view is that independence is only one possible outcome of an act of self-determination, and that the essential requirement is for the status of a territory to accord to the freely expressed wishes of its people. It is noteworthy in this regard that General Assembly resolution 1541, which was also adopted in 1960, enumerates several ways in which non-self-governing territories may attain self-determination. The United States also believes that the timing and manner of an act of self-determination should be determined by the people of the territory and the administering authority, not by the General Assembly, and that the question of whether military bases interfere with the right to self-determination can only be decided on a case-by-case basis, after examination of the particular circumstances of the territory in question.

Chapter XII of the Charter established an international trusteeship system and Chapter XIII established a Trusteeship Council. The U.S.-administered Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which has been designated a strategic trust territory, is the sole remaining territory under the trusteeship system. In accordance with Article 83 of the Charter, the Security Council is responsible for all functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreement and of their alteration or amendment. The Charter also provides that the Security Council shall avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas. The Trusteeship Council now consists of China, France, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States.

TRUST TERRITORY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands is composed of more than 2,000 islands with a combined land area of approximately 700 square miles. The islands are located in the western Pacific Ocean just north of the Equator, ranging from about 1° to 22° north latitude and 130° to 172° east longitude. They are divided into three large groups: the Marianas (with the exception of Guam) in the northwest, the Carolines to the south running from west to center, and the Marshalls in the east. The total population at the time of the most recent census (September 1973) was 114,973.

The islands came under Japanese administration as a result of World War I and were administered by Japan between the World Wars under a League of Nations mandate. The United States gained control of the islands as a consequence of World War II. On July 18, 1947, the United States and the UN Security Council concluded an agreement making the islands a strategic trust territory under U.S. administration; they have been administered by the U.S. Department of the Interior since July 1, 1951.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL CONSIDERATION

The Trusteeship Council held its 44th session in New York from

June 6 to 23, 1977. Robin Byatt of the United Kingdom and Ricardo Duque of France were elected President and Vice President of the Council, respectively. Ambassador Lowenstein served as U.S. Representative on the Council and John Kriendler as Alternate Representative. Adrian P. Winkel, High Commissioner of the Trust Territory, and Erwin D. Canham, Resident Commissioner of the Northern Mariana Islands, served as Special Representatives. Senator Ambilos Iehsi and Congressman Raymond Setik, representing the Congress of Micronesia, and Senator Olympio T. Borja, representing the Northern Mariana Islands Legislature, were special advisers to the U.S. delegation. In addition, petitioners from the Marshall Islands and from Palau District in the western Caroline Islands presented their views in support of the United States entering into status negotiations with their respective districts that would be separate from those with the Congress of Micronesia's Commission on Future Status and Transition.

Future Political Status

The opening statement to the Council was made for the United States by Mr. Kriendler, who reviewed political developments during the previous year and outlined prospects for the future. He informed the Council that the people of the Northern Mariana Islands, who had been administered separately from the rest of the Trust Territory since April 1, 1976, had completed the drafting of a local constitution, which was under review in Washington in accordance with the terms of the Mariana Islands Commonwealth Covenant. The provisions of the constitution were subsequently reviewed in some depth by Senator Borja. Mr. Kriendler noted that elections under the constitution were expected by the end of 1977 and that an elected government would then be installed in early 1978, ¹/but reaffirmed the intention of the United States to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement simultaneously for the entire territory by the end of 1981.

Regarding the Marshall Islands and the Caroline Islands, the U.S. Representative said that there had been no formal negotiations on future status during the previous year, and that the nearly complete Compact of Free Association, which had been initialled in 1976 and discussed at the previous session of the Trusteeship Council, had not been completed. The new Administration in Washington had, however, invited representatives from the Marshall Islands and the Caroline Islands to participate in a roundtable conference from May 18 to 21 to discuss subjects of mutual interest. The U.S. position at that conference was that a relationship of free association would best serve the mutual interests of the peoples of Micronesia and the United States, but that the United States had not excluded the possibility of talks leading to other arrangements, including independence, if that were the expressed wish of the peoples of Micronesia. The United States also reaffirmed its view that the interests of the peoples of Micronesia would be best served

¹/ In Proclamation 4534 of Oct. 24, President Carter announced that the Constitution was deemed approved. Elections for Governor and Lt. Governor were held Dec. 10, and Carlos Camacho and Francisco Ada were inaugurated Jan. 9, 1978.

by the maintenance of some form of unity.

The U.S. Representative informed the Council that the question of marine resources had become inextricably linked with the status negotiations. He stated that while the question of authority over marine resources was a difficult one, it was important to understand that the United States did not contest the fact that the rights over marine resources located off the coasts of Micronesia, for the purpose of exploration and exploitation of those resources, resided in the people of Micronesia, not the United States.

Turning to the future, the U.S. Representative said that a referendum on the draft Micronesian constitution, which had been completed in late 1975, had been scheduled for July 12, 1978. He invited the Council to dispatch a visiting mission to observe both the voting and the period of political education which would precede it. He also stated that the United States anticipated that elections for district administrators in the Marshall Islands and Caroline Islands could take place in 1978, following approval of district charters in accordance with Congress of Micronesia legislation.

Senator Iehsi expressed the concern of the Congress of Micronesia that its Commission on Future Status and Transition had not been directly invited to the May 18-21 conference and that the discussions at the meeting had dealt very little with basic issues. He stated that there had been positive accomplishments nonetheless, including a reaffirmation by the United States that independence had not been excluded as a status alternative. Regarding the July 12, 1978, referendum on the draft Micronesian constitution, which he described as "the appropriate vehicle for the people of Micronesia to express their will with regard to their future relationships," he stated that the Congress of Micronesia might formally request the Security Council to supervise closely the voting. (No such invitation was extended in 1977, however, and at the end of the year planning was under way for a visiting mission to be dispatched by the Trusteeship Council.)

Other Matters

Senator Iehsi also referred to activities of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency which were reported to have occurred in Micronesia in connection with the status talks. Reports of CIA activity in the Trust Territory had resulted in a formal request by the leadership of the Congress of Micronesia that the Trusteeship Council obtain from the UN Office of Legal Affairs a finding as to whether the United States had violated the provisions of the Trusteeship Agreement. Senator Iehsi subsequently withdrew this request on the basis of a report by the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence that these activities did not affect the agreements which had been reached, and assurances from Secretary of State Vance and President Carter that no such activities would take place in the future.

The subject of war claims was also raised, with Senator Iehsi pointing out that although the Micronesian Claims Commission had completed the adjudication of claims, funding was still far short of the level required for their full payment. He called upon the

Governments of Japan and the United States to increase their contributions sufficiently to allow full payment.

Concerning marine resources, he deplored the decision of the United States to veto legislation enacted by the Congress of Micronesia for the purpose of creating a 200-mile fishing zone in which Micronesia would assert control of fish, including tuna. He also expressed the concern of the Congress of Micronesia that agreement had not yet been reached with Japan on the inauguration of direct Saipan-Tokyo flights, and he called on the United States to increase its efforts in this regard. (Full agreement was reached in subsequent negotiations, and scheduled service began on October 1, 1977.)

Congressman Setik was concerned primarily with the development of an economic plan for the Trust Territory and the question of relocating the capital from Saipan (in the Marianas) to Ponape (in the Carolines). He described Micronesia as still heavily dependent on outside financial assistance, which was being expended on unproductive programs, and he stated that government spending for both capital improvement programs and operations went almost entirely to encouraging consumption, mainly of imports. For this reason, he said, the UNDP had been asked to develop a plan for the territory. The plan, which had been adopted by the Congress of Micronesia and approved by the High Commissioner, called for more balanced economic growth, decentralization of decision-making authority to the district level, increasing taxes, and creating educational programs "more appropriate to Micronesia's needs." Concerning the relocation of the capital, Congressman Setik said that the Congress would be moving to Ponape before August 1977 and that it was the hope of the Congress that the executive and judicial branches would also relocate "with all due speed."

Council Report

Among the conclusions and recommendations in its report to the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council reaffirmed the right of the people of Micronesia to self-determination, including independence; expressed its support for efforts to maintain some form of unity in Micronesia, while recognizing the expressed desire of Palau and Marshall Islands districts for separate political status talks with the United States; noted that free association, if endorsed by the people of Micronesia, would not be inconsistent with the aims of the Trusteeship Agreement; welcomed the invitation by the United States to dispatch a visiting mission to observe the constitutional referendum scheduled to be held in the Marshall and Caroline Islands on July 12, 1978; noted with satisfaction that a constitution had been drafted in the Northern Mariana Islands and approved by the voters of the district on March 6, 1977; and welcomed the statement by the United States that it intended to terminate the Trusteeship Agreement simultaneously for the entire Trust Territory.

The Council also expressed its continuing concern about the imbalance in the Micronesia economy; welcomed the adoption of the 5-year indicative development plan; recommended that the United States examine carefully the possibility of extending to the territory as a whole tariff advantages comparable to those envisaged

for the Northern Mariana Islands under the Commonwealth Covenant; noted with satisfaction that a UNDP country program had been prepared and that three project requests had been approved and transmitted to the UNDP; and expressed the hope that the territory would continue to develop its contacts with, and involvement in, international and regional bodies for development assistance. The Council reaffirmed that marine resources were crucial to the economy of Micronesia and noted with satisfaction the reaffirmation by the United States that the marine resources off the coasts of Micronesia belong to the people of the Trust Territory, not the United States. Regarding local government, the Council noted with satisfaction the steps already taken to increase local autonomy and streamline the bureaucracy, the progress that had been made toward drafting charters for district governments, and the hope of the United States that it would be possible to hold popular elections for district administrators during 1978.

As in previous years, the Security Council did not discuss the Trusteeship Council report.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

The General Assembly's Committee of 24 considered the Trust Territory in 1977, as it had in previous years. The United States maintains that the Committee's jurisdiction does not extend to consideration of the Trust Territory because the Charter provides that all UN functions relating to strategic trust territories shall be exercised by the Security Council. The United States did not, therefore, participate in the Committee's review, which was based largely on the records of the Trusteeship Council. The Committee adopted a series of conclusions and recommendations similar to those put forward by the Trusteeship Council. It incorporated these in its omnibus report to the General Assembly on all the territories and all the issues it had considered during the year.

On December 7 the Assembly adopted a resolution (see p. 262) that approved the full report of the Committee of 24, but it neither considered nor adopted a resolution specifically on the Trust Territory.

U.S. TERRITORIES

AMERICAN SAMOA

The Committee of 24's Subcommittee on Small Territories ^{2/} considered American Samoa at six meetings between June 9 and 29. The United States took part in the opening and closing meetings. On June 9, the U.S. Representative, Orme Wilson, Jr., reviewed developments during the year since the Subcommittee had last discussed the

^{2/} Afghanistan, Australia, Bulgaria, Chile, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Fiji, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Norway, Trinidad and Tobago, Yugoslavia.

territory and said that the United States anticipated elections for governor in American Samoa during 1977 or 1978. He reported that the local economy was improving after several years of recession and stagnation resulting from worldwide economic conditions and a series of local disasters, including a severe drought, constant water and power failures, disastrous tuna catches, and a devastating fire. The U.S. Congress had responded favorably to a request for supplemental funds to bolster the economy and to enable the Government of American Samoa to cover deficits in both the capital improvement and operations spheres of the budget. The economy now appeared on an upward swing and prospects appeared good for increased local tax revenues during the coming fiscal year. Additionally, the Government of American Samoa was working to diversify the local economy.

Mr. Wilson recalled that the people of American Samoa had on three occasions between 1972 and 1975 declined to approve proposals for an elected governor. On August 31, 1976, another referendum on the subject was held under terms spelled out by the Secretary of the Interior, and a majority of 70% of those voting supported having an elected governor and lieutenant governor. Accordingly, an Elective Governor Advisory Commission had been established to work out recommendations for the implementation of this decision. The Commission had prepared its preliminary recommendations and the American Samoa Legislature had just completed its deliberations regarding candidate qualifications, terms of office, and salary. Mr. Wilson reported that if the remaining legal issues, including the question of accountability to the Federal Government, could be resolved in a timely fashion, then elections would be held in November 1977; otherwise they would be held in 1978.

In a closing statement on June 20, the U.S. Representative, John Kriendler, answered a number of questions which had been raised by members of the Subcommittee. He emphasized that actions to increase the degree of local self-government would not alter the fundamental relationship between American Samoa and the Federal Government; i.e., American Samoa would remain a U.S. territory. Noting that previous referenda on the question of an elected governor had been criticized on various grounds, he said that a special effort had been made in the 1976 referendum to ensure that the voters clearly understood the issue before them. He also explained that the U.S. Congress had never passed an organic act for American Samoa because the Congress had delegated to the Executive Branch responsibility for developing the institutions of government and spelling out the precise relationship with the Federal Government. Moreover, the people of the territory had shown little support for such an act because they believed that it could jeopardize traditional landholding patterns. On the economy, Mr. Kriendler stated that local revenues had increased from \$3,931,000 in fiscal year 1976 to an estimated \$8,713,000 in fiscal year 1978, and that grant assistance from the Federal Government had decreased in proportion, as the total annual budget remained nearly constant at approximately \$30,000,000.

The full Committee of 24 took up American Samoa on July 7 and adopted without objection the report of its Subcommittee. The Committee, inter alia, (1) reaffirmed the right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independence in accordance with the General Assembly's resolution 1514 (the Colonialism Declaration);

(2) expressed its appreciation to the United States for its cooperation in the work of the Committee; (3) expressed the view that the United States ought not enact an organic act for American Samoa without first informing the people of the options available to them consistent with the Colonialism Declaration; (4) noted with satisfaction the decision of the people in favor of electing a governor and urged the United States to grant the elected governor as wide a range of powers and responsibilities as possible; and (5) expressed the hope that the United States would invite a UN visiting mission to observe conditions in the territory and to ascertain the wishes of its people concerning their future.

GUAM

The Subcommittee on Small Territories of the Committee of 24 considered Guam at six meetings between July 22 and July 7. John Kriendler represented the United States at the June 22 meeting and reviewed developments in the territory during the previous year. He informed the Subcommittee of progress made in recovering from the effects of typhoon Pamela, which had struck in 1976, and spoke of economic developments on Guam. He said that the U.S. Government recognized the need to diversify the local economy and to reduce its dependence on military installations and he enumerated efforts by the Government of Guam and by the President's Economic Adjustment Committee to that end.

The U.S. Representative informed the Subcommittee that in a political referendum which had been held on September 4, 1976, 90% of those participating voted to remain a part of the United States, while only 5.6% supported independence. He also said that on April 16, 1977, delegates had been elected to a Guam constitutional convention, as authorized by U.S. Public Law 94-584. The convention would convene in July to draft a constitution, which would be submitted to the Governor and then to the President. Following a review by the U.S. Congress, the constitution would be put to a vote in an island-wide referendum on Guam.

Recalling that the Committee of 24 had previously expressed the hope that the presence of U.S. bases on Guam would not inhibit the people in the exercise of their right to self-determination, Mr. Kriendler stated that the people of Guam had repeatedly and publicly expressed their wish that the United States military presence remain. He also reminded the Subcommittee that the Guam Legislature had on December 3, 1976, adopted a resolution deploring the misconceptions of the Committee of 24 with regard to the status of Guam and expressing support for a continued close relationship with the United States.

On July 8 the Subcommittee submitted its report and recommendations to the full Committee, which endorsed them on August 1. The Committee decision, *inter alia*, (1) reaffirmed the right of the people of Guam to self-determination and independence in accordance with resolution 1514; (2) noted the cooperation of the United States in the work of the Committee; (3) noted the steps taken to overcome the effects of typhoon Pamela and develop typhoon-proof facilities; (4) noted the September 4, 1976, political status referendum in which a majority opted to remain a territory of the United States

with a separate constitution, and urged that programs of political education be continued so that the people of Guam would be aware of all the options open to them consistent with the Colonialism Declaration; (5) reiterated its strong view that the presence of U.S. bases on Guam should not be allowed to inhibit the people of the territory from exercising freely their right to self-determination; and (6) expressed the hope that the United States would invite a UN visiting mission to observe conditions in the territory and to ascertain the wishes of the people regarding the status of their territory.

U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS

The question of the Virgin Islands was not referred to the Subcommittee on Small Territories, but was taken up directly by the full Committee on April 21, at which time it was announced that the United States had invited the Committee to dispatch a visiting mission to observe conditions in the territory. This was the first invitation for the United Nations to send such a mission to a U.S. territory. The invitation was accepted and a visiting mission composed of representatives of Fiji, Mali, Trinidad and Tobago, and Tunisia was in the territory from April 24 to May 1.

The visiting mission included in its report the observation, "At meetings held by the mission in the territory with the Governor, the Legislature, and with the public at large, no desire was expressed by the people of the territory in favor of independence, and they frequently displayed pride and satisfaction with their way of life and democratic traditions." The visiting mission noted statements by U.S. officials that it was the policy of the United States "to respect the wishes of the people of the United States Virgin Islands; that independence is only one of the options open to the people of the territory; and that should they seek to achieve a status other than the present one, the United States would adapt to political reality." The visiting mission asserted that it was the responsibility of the United States to ensure that the people of the territory fully understood all the options available to them for their political development.

The Committee met on September 13 to consider the visiting mission's report. Ambassador McHenry made a statement on behalf of the United States, in which he reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to respect the right of self-determination with regard to the Virgin Islands. He noted that while the report contained occasional points of detail and emphasis with which the United States might disagree, it was generally accurate, balanced, and objective. He assured the Committee that the people of the territory were aware of their status alternatives and that they were free to express their preference without hesitation.

On September 20 the Committee adopted a consensus decision which (1) noted the report of the visiting mission; (2) reaffirmed the right of the people of the Virgin Islands to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Colonialism Declaration; (3) noted with satisfaction the work of the mission and expressed its appreciation for the assistance and cooperation of the United States and the Virgin Islands; and (4) requested the United States

to assure the full implementation with regard to the Virgin Islands of the relevant provisions of the UN Charter and the Colonialism Declaration.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The three U.S. territories and a number of other small territories were considered by the 32nd General Assembly's Fourth Committee from October 26 to November 17 under the agenda item, "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples." On November 7, the U.S. Representative, Congressman Wolff, made a comprehensive statement regarding political developments in each of the U.S. territories. He informed the Committee that the people of American Samoa would go to the polls on November 8 to vote for their first elected governor, and he reviewed progress in the drafting of local constitutions on Guam and the U.S. Virgin Islands. He expressed pride in the findings of the UN visiting mission, which had documented the freedom and democracy existing in the latter territory. With respect to Guam, he reaffirmed U.S. support for the right of the people to self-determination and the U.S. belief that the presence of military bases in no way inhibited the free expression of that right.

Draft resolutions on American Samoa, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands were approved in the Fourth Committee without objection on November 9, 14, and 15, respectively. All three were adopted by the General Assembly without objection on November 28.

The resolutions on American Samoa^{3/} and the Virgin Islands^{4/} were noncontroversial, and the United States was able to participate in consensus approval, subject to the disclaimer that independence was only one possible outcome of an act of self-determination. These resolutions, inter alia, (1) approved the relevant chapter of the report of the Committee of 24; (2) reaffirmed the right of the people of the territories to self-determination and independence in accordance with the Colonialism Declaration; (3) urged that steps be taken to strengthen and diversify the local economies; (4) urged that steps be taken to safeguard the right of the people of the territories to own and dispose of the natural resources of the territories; and (5) requested the Committee of 24 to continue its consideration of conditions in the territories, including the possible dispatch of visiting missions at the appropriate time and in consultation with the Government of the United States. The resolution on the Virgin Islands also took note of the observations, conclusions, and recommendations of the visiting mission; expressed the Assembly's satisfaction with the constructive work of the mission; and expressed satisfaction with the cooperation and assistance extended by the Governments of the United States and the Virgin Islands.

The Guam resolution was the subject of some controversy. On November 7 Vietnam introduced a draft resolution, also sponsored by Angola, Cuba, Laos, and Mozambique, which, inter alia, would have

^{3/} Resolution 32/24.

^{4/} Resolution 32/31.

deplored the presence of U.S. military bases on Guam and expressed the strong conviction that they prevented the people of Guam from the free exercise of their right to self-determination.

An alternate draft resolution, sponsored by Australia, Japan, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, and Sierra Leone, was introduced the same day. The latter would have expressed the "strong view that the presence of United States bases on Guam should not be allowed to inhibit the people of the territory from exercising freely their right to self-determination in accordance with resolution 1514 (XV), as well as the principles and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations." This draft was subsequently withdrawn.

Following prolonged efforts to reach a satisfactory compromise, the resolution as finally adopted 5/considered that "the policy of maintaining military bases and installations in non-self-governing territories which inhibit the right of self-determination of peoples is incompatible with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations" and reaffirmed the "strong conviction that the presence of United States bases on Guam should not prevent the people of the territory from freely exercising their right to self-determination in accordance with the Declaration and the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations."

In a statement after the resolution's approval in the Committee, Ambassador Leonard recalled that the United States had always believed

"... that in order to make a judgment whether a military base in a non-self-governing territory is inhibiting the process of self-determination, or is not, it is necessary that the facts and circumstances of each particular case should be reviewed. We have said, and I believe ... that the people of Guam have said even more loudly and clearly, that the United States military presence on Guam is in no way inhibiting their progress toward self-government and self-determination."

Ambassador Leonard stated his belief that nothing in the resolution asserted the contrary.

Reservations regarding the resolution were expressed by Vietnam, the U.S.S.R., the German Democratic Republic, Laos, Cuba, Mozambique, Congo, and others.

5/ Resolution 32/28.

NAMIBIA

The Security Council did not consider the question of Namibia during 1977. However, the subject has been and remains a matter of intense interest to both the UN and the United States.

The United Nations has been seized of the question of the Mandated Territory of South West Africa or Namibia, as it is presently known, since 1946. During this period, South Africa consistently refused to comply with any of the UN resolutions which called upon it to place the Territory under the UN's trusteeship system. South Africa's position was that its international accountability had lapsed with the demise of the League of Nations. South Africa stated further that it was administering the Territory as a "sacred trust" and was promoting the well-being of the inhabitants according to the spirit of the original mandate.

At the request of the General Assembly, the International Court of Justice delivered advisory opinions on the question of South West Africa in 1950, 1955, and 1956. Those opinions held that South Africa could not alter the international status of the Territory without UN consent, that South Africa remained bound to accept UN supervision, to submit annual reports to the General Assembly and to promote the material and moral well-being and social progress of the inhabitants.

In 1960 the ICJ accepted a case brought by Ethiopia and Liberia. Those two countries charged that South Africa had violated its mandate obligations and requested the Court to order South Africa to submit the administration of the Territory to UN supervision. In July 1966 the Court ruled that Ethiopia and Liberia had no standing and said it could not pass judgment on the merits of the case.

At its 21st Session, in 1966, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2145 (XXI) which declared that South Africa had failed to fulfill its obligations with respect to the administration of the Mandated Territory and had disavowed the Mandate. The resolution stated that the Mandate was terminated and that South West Africa thereby came under the direct responsibility of the UN.

In March 1969 the Security Council recognized the termination of the Mandate 6/ pursuant to the General Assembly resolution, and called upon South Africa to withdraw its administration from the Territory. In January 1970, the Security Council declared 7/ the continued presence of South African authorities in Namibia to be illegal and, in July of 1970 the Council requested 8/ an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the legal conse-

6/ Resolution 264 (1969).

7/ Resolution 276 (1970).

8/ Resolution 284 (1970).

quences for States of the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia. A year later the Court replied that "the continued presence of South Africa in Namibia being illegal, South Africa was under obligation to withdraw its administration from Namibia immediately and thus put an end to its occupation of the Territory." The Court also held that States were under an obligation to recognize the illegality of South Africa's presence in Namibia. The Security Council adopted a resolution 9/which reaffirmed that Namibia "is the direct responsibility of the United Nations" and agreed with the Court's opinion.

In the face of increasing international pressure, South Africa announced in September 1974 that the various "population groups" of Namibia should select leaders who would meet to discuss the territory's future. A year later, delegates from Namibia's eleven ethnic groups met in Windhoek. The meeting was dubbed the "Turnhalle Conference" since it was held in the Turnhalle, an old German building.

The Turnhalle Conference eventually called for independence for the territory by December 31, 1978 and delivered constitutional proposals to the South African Government in March 1977. The proposals called for a complex three-tiered system of central, regional, and municipal governing bodies.

The various ethnic groups were to be the building blocks of the society, with voting taking place within each ethnic group. Some ethnic groups were to have their representation at the national level weighted more heavily than others. Decisions at the cabinet level were to have been made on the basis of consensus among the various ethnic groups.

From 1972 to 1976 the Security Council adopted six more resolutions on the situation in Namibia. On January 30, 1976, the Security Council adopted a resolution 10/which sets forth specific principles for a settlement and has served as the basis for subsequent negotiations on Namibia.

In view of their special responsibilities as members of the United Nations Security Council, the Governments of France, the United Kingdom, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States concerted in March and April 1977 to develop a unified approach to exploratory talks with the Government of South Africa on the future of Namibia. It is the contention of the Five Powers that the question of Namibian independence must be resolved according to the terms of UN Security Council Resolution 385. The main substantive elements of that resolution include (1) free elections under UN supervision and control for the whole of Namibia as one political entity; (2) adequate time, to be determined by the Security Council, to enable the UN to establish electoral oversight machinery and to enable the Namibian people to organize politically for elections; (3) South African withdrawal and the transfer of power to the Namibian people with the assistance of the United

9/ Resolution 301 (1971).

10/ Resolution 385 (1976).

Nations; (4) release of all Namibian political prisoners including those detained in either Namibia or South Africa for violations of the internal security laws; (5) repeal of all discriminatory laws and regulations and deletion of the system of bantustans in Namibia; and (6) unhindered return of Namibian exiles without fear of intimidating arrest, detention or imprisonment.

As a result of initial consultations the Western Five, acting as an informal contact group and with no official mandate to enter into negotiations or make agreements regarding Namibia, presented to South African Prime Minister Vorster on April 7 an aide-memoire expressing their belief in the necessity for a Namibian settlement in keeping with Security Council Resolution 385 and thereby acceptable to the international community. The aide-memoire noted the Contact Group's position that the activities of the Turnhalle Conference did not meet those standards and informed the Government of South Africa that, in the absence of early South African agreement to pursue an internationally acceptable settlement, the Five would be obliged to reconsider their position regarding proposals for stern action by the United Nations.

Thus began a series of "exploratory talks" in which the Contact Group met separately with South African officials and with representatives of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), a liberation movement which enjoys the recognition of the OAU and the UN General Assembly (the U.S. and other Western powers abstaining) as the "authentic representative of the Namibian people."^{11/} The Five also enlisted the support of the Front Line African states to urge SWAPO to continue negotiations and to accept a settlement consistent with Security Council Resolution 385, should one emerge. By the end of 1977, the Contact Group had met several times with all parties, including some internal Namibian parties, and the gap between the positions of the parties had been narrowed significantly. The bare bones of the outline of a solution could be discerned, but it was not clear if either South Africa or SWAPO could be induced to accept the solution.

Because of their involvement in the Namibia initiative, the Five abstained on all resolutions but two concerning Namibia which came before the 57th meeting of the General Assembly in 1977. However, coming directly before the plenary without reference to a main committee were 8 resolutions, all of which were adopted by the General Assembly.

The first resolution^{12/}, adopted without vote, is entitled "Implementation of the Nationhood Program for Namibia." It called for, inter alia, (1) the UN Council for Namibia, in consultation with SWAPO, to continue and intensify the direction and coordination of the Nationhood Program, (2) specific UN specialized agencies and other UN bodies to provide detailed assistance to Namibia before and after independence, and (3) the Secretary General to assist the Council for Namibia in implementation of the Nationhood Program.

^{11/} Resolution 3399 (XXX).

^{12/} Resolution 32/9 A.

The second resolution^{13/}, also adopted without vote, was entitled "United Nations Fund for Namibia." Its main provisions (1) approved conclusions and recommendations of the report of the Council for Namibia, trustee of the Fund for Namibia, (2) allocated \$500,000 from the regular UN budget to the Fund for Namibia and urged voluntary contributions to the Fund from member states, UN specialized agencies and other bodies and, (3) decided that Namibians will remain eligible for assistance through the United Nations Educational and Training Program for Southern Africa.

The third resolution^{14/} was adopted by a vote of 135 to 0, with 5 abstentions (U.S.) and dealt with "Dissemination of Information on Namibia." It requested, inter alia, (1) that the Secretary General, the UN specialized agencies, the Secretariat Office of Public Information and other UN bodies make all possible efforts to disseminate information in support of the independence of Namibia, (2) that the International Telecommunications Union make frequencies available for broadcasting inside Namibia and that a UN radio transmitter be established for this purpose, (3) authorized the assignment of broadcast frequencies to neighbor African countries for broadcast into Namibia and, (4) decided that the map of Namibia prepared by the UN Council for Namibia, which includes Walvis Bay as a part of Namibia, is definitive and supersedes any maps previously prepared by South Africa.

The fourth resolution^{15/} was entitled "Occupation of the Territory by South Africa." It was adopted by a vote of 117 to 0, with 24 abstentions (U.S.) and its major provisions (1) supported the right of the people of Namibia to pursue their liberation struggle with all means at their disposal, (2) condemned South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia in Chapter VII language as a serious threat to international peace and security, (3) declared that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia and rejected South African claims of sovereignty over the port and adjacent area, (4) reaffirmed support for SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, and supported the armed struggle led by SWAPO, (5) condemned South Africa for its continued refusal to evacuate Namibia and for its activities against SWAPO and its military buildup in Namibia, (6) further condemned South Africa for its development of a nuclear capacity approaching nuclear weaponry and condemned as well "certain Western states" which have assisted South Africa in the development of a nuclear weapons capacity, (7) strongly condemned the activities of international corporations operating in Namibia under South African occupation and demanded their withdrawal, (8) declared that South Africa is liable for reparations for damages occurring in Namibia during South African occupation, (9) demanded that South Africa release all Namibian political prisoners, permit the unconditional return of all Namibian exiles and end its policy of the creation of tribal "bantustans" in Namibia, (10) requested all member states to institute total military, nuclear and oil embargoes against South

^{13/} Resolution 32/9 B.

^{14/} Resolution 32/9 C.

^{15/} Resolution 32/9 D.

Africa, and (11) urged the Security Council to impose Chapter VII sanctions against South Africa over Namibia.

The fifth resolution^{16/}, "Action by Intergovernmental and Non-Governmental Organizations with Respect to Namibia", was adopted by a vote of 136 to 0, with 4 abstentions (U.S.). Among other things it (1) requested UN specialized agencies and other UN bodies to participate with the UN Council for Namibia in the formulation and implementation of the Nationhood Program for Namibia, (2) requested all UN specialized agencies, conferences and other bodies within the UN system to grant full membership to the Council for Namibia as the legal administering body for Namibia until Namibian independence, and to waive payment by the Council for Namibia of any assessments which it would otherwise be required to pay during the period of its representation of Namibia in the specialized and other agencies and organizations.

The sixth resolution^{17/}, "Program of Work of the United Nations Council for Namibia", was adopted by a vote of 130 to 0, with 5 abstentions (U.S.). Among its provisions were those which (1) requested the Council for Namibia to continue to represent Namibia within the UN system, to continue its actions designed to bring about South African withdrawal from Namibia, to continue to act as the trustee for the UN Fund for Namibia, and to act as the policy-making organ of the United Nations in respect to Namibia, (2) requested the Council for Namibia to hold a series of plenary meetings in Africa in 1978, to consult as appropriate with SWAPO in the formulation and implementation of the Council's program of work and in other matters of interest to the Namibian people, and to denounce or otherwise condemn South African activities in Namibia, specifically including any attempt which South Africa might make outside the terms of Security Council Resolution 385 to bring about Namibian independence, (3) decided to increase the budget of the Council for Namibia to enable it to finance the SWAPO office in New York and to defray the expense of a SWAPO representative whenever the Council for Namibia so requires.

The seventh resolution^{18/}, which was adopted by a vote of 130 to 0, with 11 abstentions (U.S.), is entitled "Intensification and Coordination of United Nations Action in Support of Namibia." Among other things, its 11 operative paragraphs (1) urged member states to break off any economic relations with South Africa which impact on Namibia and take measures to compel South African withdrawal from Namibia, (2) urged the UN Council for Namibia to contact all foreign companies operating in Namibia to inform them of the Council's position that such activities are illegal, to request all firms supplying arms, ammunition or oil to South Africa to cease doing so, and to inform governments whose firms are operating in Namibia of the illegality of those operations and, (3) requested the Secretary General to make the necessary financial arrangements for the continued implementation of UN Council for Namibia Decree No. 1 for

^{16/} Resolution 32/9 E.

^{17/} Resolution 32/9 F.

^{18/} Resolution 32/9 G.

the protection of the natural resources of Namibia, for the period 1978-79.

The eighth and final resolution was adopted by a vote of 135 to 0, with 6 abstentions (U.S.), and is entitled, "Special Session of the General Assembly on the Question of Namibia." It decided to keep the situation in Namibia under continuous review and to hold a special session of the General Assembly devoted to Namibia at a date to be determined, but prior to the 33rd General Assembly.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

SECURITY COUNCIL

Beginning in January, 1977, the United States and the United Kingdom discussed a possible Security Council draft resolution which would close an exception to the sanctions imposed on Rhodesia by prohibiting the transfer of funds from Rhodesia to maintain offices of the Rhodesian regime abroad. Council consideration of such a proposal was delayed by the insistence of some countries that further Security Council resolutions broadening sanctions should impose the whole range of penalties available under Article 41 of the Charter.

However, agreement was reached informally on a draft resolution and, in response to a special report from the Security Council Committee Established in Pursuance of Resolution 253 (1968) Concerning the Question of Rhodesia (the Sanctions Committee), the Council met on May 27. At that meeting Mauritius introduced a draft resolution sponsored by 16 states including the U.S., U.K., and U.S.S.R. The Council unanimously adopted a resolution¹⁹ which, *inter alia*, (1) decided that member states shall prohibit the use of transfer of funds in their territories by the Rhodesian Regime for the maintenance of any official office or agency of the Rhodesian Regime other than a pensions office, (2) urged nations not members of the United Nations to act in accordance with the resolution, and (3) decided to meet again no later than November 11 to consider the application against Rhodesia of further measures under Article 41.

In his statement before the Security Council, U.S. Ambassador James Leonard said, "The adoption of this draft resolution, . . . can leave no doubt in the minds of any of the leaders in Salisbury or elsewhere of the commitment of the international community to the attainment of a government in Southern Rhodesia based on the consent of the governed. The unanimous nature of the action taken today will underline the strength of the international commitment."

The Security Council next met on Rhodesia in September when the U.K. and U.S. took to the Council a proposal which they had made public September 1 for a negotiated transition to majority rule in Rhodesia. The Anglo-American proposal has three basic elements:

¹⁹/ Resolution 409 (1977).

1. A constitution for an independent state with guarantees of free elections, universal adult suffrage, an enforceable bill of rights, and an independent judiciary, as well as guarantees of pension and property rights;

2. A transitional arrangement, in which Ian Smith would step down and a British-appointed resident commissioner would administer the country and prepare it for national elections.

A UN special representative would be on hand to assist him, and a UN peacekeeping force would help ensure order. Prior to the beginning of the transition, the resident commissioner, a UN representative and the commanders of the Rhodesian and the liberation armed forces will work out security details, including a cease-fire, the mandate of the UN force and the basis of the new Zimbabwe army;

3. A Zimbabwe development fund would be established as a major international assistance effort to help revive the economy, create new opportunities for blacks, and provide enough economic security for whites to encourage them to stay.

The text of the Anglo-American Proposals was transmitted to the Front Line African countries and others for comments and the proposals as well as the text of a U.K. Security Council draft resolution were the subject of extensive informal discussions at the United Nations. The limited purpose of the U.K. draft was not to obtain Council approval of the entire settlement proposal. It was recognized that this would not have been possible at such an early stage. Rather it was intended that the Security Council authorize the Secretary General to appoint a representative to discuss only the military aspects of the proposed settlement with the British Resident Commissioner Designate and with the other Rhodesian parties.

The Security Council met for consultations on the question of Rhodesia on September 27, with formal sessions following on September 28 and 29. A representative of the Salisbury Regime requested to appear before the Council under Article 32 of the Charter which provides that any UN member or any non-UN Member State which is party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council shall be invited to attend and speak at relevant Council meetings but without the right to vote. However, this request was rejected on the grounds that Southern Rhodesia is a colony in rebellion, not a state.

The Soviet Union also submitted a draft resolution informally but, with the statement of Joshua Nkomo, speaking as co-leader of the Patriotic Front, it became clear that the African states would pose no objection to adoption of the British draft as altered through informal negotiation with Nkomo and others.

On September 29, the Council adopted the U.K. draft resolution 20/ by a vote of 13 to 0, with 1 abstention (U.S.S.R.), with China not participating. The resolution, inter alia, (1) requested the Secretary General to appoint, in consultation with members of the Security Council, a representative to enter into discussions with the

U.K. Resident Commissioner Designate and with all the parties concerning the necessary military and associated transitional arrangements, (2) requested the Secretary General to report to the Security Council on the results of these discussions as soon as possible and, (3) called upon all parties to cooperate with the Secretary General's representative in the conduct of the discussions.

On September 30, Secretary General Waldheim sent a letter to the President of the Security Council informing the Council of his intention to name Lt. General D. Prem Chand as his representative in Rhodesia.

In his statement to the Security Council, Ambassador Andrew Young reaffirmed U.S. support for the Anglo-American Proposals, which he referred to as, in fact, an Anglo-African-American Proposal because African initiatives had in large measure been responsible both for the proposals and for the active U.S. role in the peace process. Ambassador Young noted that the greatly increased strength, influence, cohesion and experience of the African states should reassure those who fear that a UN operation in Rhodesia could suffer a breakdown similar to that which occurred in the Congo more than a decade earlier. The internationally acceptable solution which is the goal of current peace efforts, Young said, gives Zimbabwe the opportunity for a permanent solution without the in-fighting and disorder which have accompanied other colonial settlements involving more than one nationalist movement and not favored by internationally recognized settlements.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

This perennial item again arose in the Fourth Committee, in the form of two resolutions based almost entirely upon those recommended in the August 9 report of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The Fourth Committee considered the question at 9 meetings between November 15 and December 12, with formal debate beginning on November 30. The tenor of the debate was somewhat affected by the UK-US settlement proposals and by the appointment, in implementation of SC Resolution 415, of General Prem Chand as the Secretary General's representative to discuss military and associated matters with the Rhodesian parties. However, speakers from many African states and representing the Patriotic Front guerillas called for extended sanctions and other actions against both the Smith Regime and its principal foreign supporter, South Africa. Representatives of internal Rhodesian nationalist movements, which were engaged in negotiations with the Smith Regime, defended their actions as attempts to bring majority rule peacefully to Zimbabwe.

On December 12 the Fourth Committee adopted two resolutions, which were essentially updated versions of those adopted the previous year. Sponsored by 29 states, the first was approved by consensus while the second was approved by a recorded vote of 112 to 0, with 10 abstentions (U.S.).

The first resolution, inter alia, (1) reaffirmed the legitimacy of the self-determination struggle of the people of Zimbabwe by all

means at their disposal as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, (2) reaffirmed the relevant portions of the Maputo Declaration, (3) demanded an end to repression by the Salisbury Regime, the unconditional release of all Rhodesian political prisoners, the end of foreign immigration to Rhodesia and the withdrawal of all mercenaries serving there, (4) called upon all states to prevent the advertisement for and recruitment of mercenaries for service in Rhodesia, (5) requested all states to assist Mozambique and Botswana to strengthen their defense capacities, invited all members of the UN system to publicize the situation in Rhodesia and, (6) requested the Special Committee to report on the situation in Rhodesia to the 33rd General Assembly.

The second draft resolution concerned enforcing the sanctions against Southern Rhodesia. It (1) condemned the policies of those governments, particularly that of South Africa, which continue to collaborate with the Smith Regime and enable it to evade UN sanctions, (2) called upon all states to prevent their corporations from violating sanctions against Rhodesia, to prevent the emigration of their nationals to Rhodesia, to discontinue any action which might confer a semblance of legitimacy on the Salisbury Regime and specifically to close any "Rhodesia Information Offices" or "Rhodesian Tourist Boards" as may exist, to invalidate passports for travel to Rhodesia, and to act against oil companies which supply petroleum to Rhodesia, (3) requested the Security Council to consider the expansion of sanctions against Rhodesia to include all measures possible under Article 41 of the Charter, (4) requested the Security Council to impose a mandatory oil embargo on South Africa and, (5) requested the Special Committee to continue to follow the situation in Rhodesia with the cooperation of the Security Council Sanctions Committee.

Speaking December 9 during debate, Congressman Charles W. Whalen, Jr., informed the Fourth Committee of the U.S. position when he said, "My government supports completely the proposals outlined in the British White Paper on Rhodesia and will continue its active pursuit of a settlement based on these proposals. . . The U.S. continues to believe that independence for Zimbabwe must involve a genuine transfer of power to a government representing the majority of the people. This government must be selected on the basis of elections perceived by international opinion as having been conducted in a demonstrably fair manner. To be fair, all parties must be able to participate in the selection of the future government. This means the nationalists outside as well as inside the country."

"Mr. Chairman, the United States supported Resolution 31/154A on Rhodesia during the 31st General Assembly. We are again fully prepared to support a consensus resolution based on the recommendations of the Special Committee's Reports."

"The United States abstained on Resolution 31/154B of the 31st General Assembly, and we believe the reasons for our abstention are well known. The United States is aware that some delegations believe that an immediate expansion of sanctions against Rhodesia is advisable. The United States agrees that sanctions are and have been an important factor leading to the eventual and certain downfall of the Smith Regime. We fully support their implementation and, at the appropriate time, the expansion of sanctions in ways which

are effective and enforceable. . . The common goal which we all seek is an independent Zimbabwe under majority rule, but we believe that now is the time to allow the negotiating process to work toward that goal."

The General Assembly adopted both resolutions on December 16, the first 21/without objection and the second 22/by a recorded vote of 113 to 0, with 10 abstentions (U.S.). The U.S. abstentions in both plenary and the Fourth Committee stemmed from U.S. inability to support an oil embargo against South Africa, the full extension of Article 41 sanctions against Rhodesia, or the invalidation of U.S. passports for travel to Rhodesia.

EAST TIMOR

Although in 1975 and 1976 the situation in East Timor was considered by both the Security Council and the General Assembly, only the latter discussed it in 1977.

BACKGROUND

The western part of the island of Timor was first under Dutch colonial rule, becoming part of Indonesia with the establishment of the Republic in 1949; the eastern part had been under Portuguese rule for many centuries, most recently as an "overseas province."

The portion administered by Portugal comprised, in addition to the eastern part of the island, the enclave of Oecusse Ambeno in the west, the island of Ataúro off the northern coast, and the small island of Jacó off the eastern tip. The total land area is 14,925 square kilometers and the population was estimated at 658,000 in mid-1974.

Following the announcement in 1974 by the new Portuguese government that it would grant independence to its overseas territories, Portuguese authorities began discussions with recently established Timorese political parties with a view to establishing modalities for decolonization. In mid-1975, however, fighting broke out among those parties advocating complete independence for East Timor and those favoring integration with Indonesia. In November 1975, one of the parties, FRETILIN²³/, declared the independence of the territory and the establishment of the "Democratic Republic of East Timor." The same month, four other parties²⁴/proclaimed the independence of East Timor and its integration into Indonesia.

21/ Resolution 32/116 A.

22/ Resolution 32/116 B.

23/ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

24/ APODETI (Associação Popular Democrática de Timor), UDT (União Democrática Timorense), KOTA (Klibur Oan Timor Aswain), and Partido Trabalhista.

The next month Indonesian troops entered the territory to assist these parties in their struggle against FRETILIN, and a "Provisional Government of East Timor" was established by the four pro-Indonesia parties.

In May 1976 the Provisional Government held elections to a People's Assembly of East Timor, which, in turn, formally requested integration of the territory with the Republic of Indonesia. This was accomplished by an act of the Indonesian Parliament, and East Timor on July 17, 1976, was established as the 27th province of Indonesia.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY CONSIDERATION

The Fourth Committee of the 32nd General Assembly considered the agenda item, "Question of East Timor," together with other colonial issues at 13 meetings between October 26 and November 10.

On November 7 Barbados introduced a draft resolution that was ultimately sponsored by 17 states. In its principal operative paragraphs the draft (1) reaffirmed the right of the people of East Timor to independence; (2) reaffirmed previous resolutions by the General Assembly and the Security Council on the question of East Timor; (3) rejected the integration of East Timor into Indonesia on the grounds that the people of the territory had not been able to exercise freely their right to self-determination and independence; (4) requested the Committee of 24 to send a visiting mission to East Timor and to report to the 33rd General Assembly; (5) requested the Secretary General to send a special representative to East Timor to make an on-the-spot assessment of the situation and to prepare the ground for the visiting mission; (6) drew the attention of the Security Council to the need for implementation of its previous resolutions "with a view to securing the full exercise by the people of East Timor of their right to self-determination and independence"; and (7) called on Indonesia and FRETILIN to facilitate the entry into East Timor of the International Committee of the Red Cross and other relief organizations.

The resolution was approved on November 10 by a recorded vote of 61 to 26 (U.S.), with 47 abstentions, and subsequently adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session on November 28 by a recorded vote of 67 to 26 (U.S.), with 47 abstentions.^{25/}

The United States did not speak during the debate, but voted against the resolution because it did not believe it would serve any constructive purpose.

WORLD CONFERENCE IN SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLES OF ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA

On December 17, 1976, the 31st General Assembly adopted without objection Resolution 31/145 which called for an international con-

^{25/} Resolution 32/34.

ference on Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia in 1977. The United States participated in the consensus on the resolution but joined with the British in reserving our position on the political significance of the proposed conference, its timing, and the possibility of our participation.

The conference was held in Maputo, Mozambique, May 16-21 under the joint sponsorship of the UN Council for Namibia and the UN Committee of 24 (the decolonization committee). Its announced objective was "to mobilize world-wide support for and assistance to the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle for self-determination and independence." Some 92 UN member states attended, including the U.S., the U.K. and our Western allies, as well as numerous observers and non-governmental organizations.

Most delegations, including representatives of the Liberation movements of southern Africa, addressed the Conference. The head of the U.S. Delegation, Ambassador Andrew Young, distributed copies of his prepared statement and then spoke extemporaneously. The Ambassador stressed developments in the fields of human and civil rights in the United States during the past decade as a proof of the evolution of American thought and position which led to the more forthcoming policy of the Carter Administration on African matters. Ambassador Young spoke of the need for negotiated settlements in southern Africa and of the marshalling of economic power to bring about political change, both in the United States and in Africa. This statement seemed to establish the sincerity and credibility of the Carter policy on Africa in the minds of the African leaders and led to their cooperation in producing dividends of the policy.

Conference final documents consisted of a Declaration and a Program of Action. These documents called for prompt independence and majority rule in Zimbabwe and Namibia and urged support for the Liberation movements in both countries. However, they also took note of efforts made to achieve negotiated settlements. The documents called for the expansion of sanctions against Rhodesia and the imposition of sanctions against South Africa for its support of Rhodesia and for its militarization of Namibia. They also placed particular emphasis on Security Council Resolution 385 as a basis for a solution in Namibia, a position helpful to the negotiating efforts of the Western Contact Group in Namibia.

These documents, which constituted the conference product and position, were generally recognized as reasonably moderate. However, Western nations, especially the five Western members of the Security Council (Canada, the U.K., France, West Germany and the U.S.) could not support all their provisions. Therefore, speaking on behalf of the Five, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, Charles William Maynes, informed the Conference that it was a remarkable success but that, "The position of the Western members of the Security Council is clear. In the light of the initiatives we have taken, we find ourselves unable to associate ourselves with a number of the provisions of the Declaration and the Program of Action. To associate ourselves would prejudice the results of negotiations which have brought about the most promising start to resolve the Namibian problem. We take a similar position regarding the negotiating effort of the British in

Zimbabwe. The bulk of the document, however, represents our views. So, while we cannot associate ourselves with a number of the provisions of the Declaration, we regard it as an important mark in history, one which helps us understand our own responsibilities as members of the Security Council and nations interested in peaceful change and racial progress in southern Africa."

On December 7, 1977, the General Assembly adopted, without vote and without reference to a main committee, a resolution^{26/} which approved the report of the Conference and invited all member states, UN specialized agencies, non-governmental organizations and others to accord priority to the implementation of the terms of the Conference Declaration and Program of Action.

OTHER QUESTIONS

OTHER TERRITORIES

Under the agenda item "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples," the Fourth Committee at 18 meetings between October 26 and November 17 considered and approved draft resolutions or consensuses on 16 territories. These were all subsequently adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session on November 28. The draft resolutions concerned: Western Sahara; ^{27/}Gilbert Islands; ^{28/}American Samoa; Solomon Islands; ^{29/}New Hebrides; ^{30/}Brunei; ^{31/}Guam; Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Montserrat, and Turks and Caicos Islands; ^{32/}Cayman Islands; ^{33/}U.S. Virgin Islands; and Belize.^{34/} The consensuses were on Tuvalu, Gocos (Keeling) Islands, Tokelau, St. Helena, and Gibraltar. All were similar to those adopted in previous years. The Committee decided to defer until the 33rd General Assembly consideration of Pitcairn, the Falkland Islands (Malvinas), Antigua, Dominica, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent.

The resolutions concerning American Samoa, Guam, and the U.S. Virgin Islands are discussed in an earlier section of this report (p.238)

^{26/} Resolution 32/41.

^{27/} Resolution 32/22.

^{28/} Resolution 32/23.

^{29/} Resolution 32/25.

^{30/} Resolution 32/26.

^{31/} Resolution 32/27.

^{32/} Resolution 32/29.

^{33/} Resolution 32/30.

^{34/} Resolution 32/32.

In each case except those of Brunei and Belize, the resolutions were adopted without objection, both in Committee and by the plenary Assembly.

In the case of Brunei, the matter came to a vote because of a difference of views between the United Kingdom and the majority of the UN membership as to whether the territory was a non-self-governing territory under the administration of the United Kingdom. The U.K. view is that Brunei is self-governing and that Britain is therefore not in a position to implement any resolution approved by the General Assembly. Nevertheless, the Committee on November 10, by a recorded vote of 117 to 0, with 15 abstentions (U.S.), approved a draft resolution sponsored by 15 African and Asian states. The resolution called for "the lifting of the ban on all political parties and for the return of all political exiles to Brunei so that they can participate freely and fully" in elections to be held "in consultation with and under the supervision of the United Nations." The General Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution by a recorded vote of 127 to 0, with 14 abstentions (U.S.). The United Kingdom did not participate in either vote.

Voting was necessary on the Belize resolution because of the sharp difference of views between the United Kingdom and Guatemala, which has territorial claims on Belize, as to the appropriate outcome of the decolonization process. On November 17 the Fourth Committee, by a rollcall vote of 115 (U.K.) to 5 (Guatemala), with 19 abstentions (U.S.), approved a draft resolution sponsored by 51 states (including the U.K.). The resolution, *inter alia*, reaffirmed that the inviolability and territorial integrity of Belize must be preserved and called on all parties to refrain from any threats of use of force against the people of Belize or their territory. The resolution was adopted by the General Assembly by a recorded vote of 126 (U.K.) to 4 (Guatemala), with 13 abstentions (U.S.).

In each resolution the Assembly approved the relevant chapter of the Committee of 24 report; reaffirmed the right of the people of the territory to self-determination and independence in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514; and requested the Committee of 24 to keep the situation under review and report to the General Assembly at its 33rd session. Most of the resolutions and consensuses also reaffirmed that "questions of territorial size, geographical location, and limited resources should in no way delay" the implementation of resolution 1514 with regard to the territory concerned; called for a strengthening or diversification of the local economy; urged that steps be taken to ensure that the local people have the full right to control their natural resources; requested that the assistance of specialized agencies within the UN system be utilized in the territory; and requested that the possibility of a visiting mission to the territory be considered.

Western Sahara

The problem of the Western or, as it was known until 1976, the Spanish Sahara, has been a matter of concern to the General Assembly for more than a decade. The nature of the problem changed in 1975-76, however, when Spain agreed to evacuate the territory and transfer its administrative authority to Morocco and Mauritania. On the

basis of old territorial claims and the expressed views of a Saharan representative body, Morocco and Mauritania divided the former colony among themselves while an indigenous movement, supported by Algeria, conducted a guerrilla conflict against absorption by Morocco and Mauritania. The General Assembly has consistently referred the matter to the Organization of African Unity which had so far been unable to hold a promised special summit to deal with the Western Sahara.

The Fourth Committee engaged in a lively debate on this subject from October 31-November 9, 1977. The members of the African Group and the Non-Aligned were sharply divided amongst themselves in their statements. Some, probably the majority, backed the ball by Algeria and the guerrilla group, the POLISARIO Front, for "self-determination" for the Saharan people. Gabon, a strong supporter of Morocco (and of Moroccan/Mauritanian annexation of the Sahara), introduced a draft resolution which would have cut off debate and referred the matter back to the OAU while requesting the Secretary General to inform the 33rd General Assembly of any progress which the African body may have made toward settlement during the intervening year. Algeria and the POLISARIO clearly preferred a full-scale plenary debate leading to a resolution asserting a greater UN role in the solution of the problem. On November 9 Gabon withdrew its draft resolution and a compromise resolution was adopted which, *inter alia*, (1) reaffirmed the commitment of the General Assembly to the principle of self-determination, (2) expressed the hope that a just and lasting solution will be found as a result of the proposed special OAU summit, (3) decided to resume consideration of the matter at the 33rd General Assembly and, (4) requested both the Secretary General and the Committee of 24 to review the progress made toward settlement of the question of the Western Sahara and to report to the 33rd General Assembly.

When the resolution reported out of the Fourth Committee came before the plenary, November 28, it was adopted without objection.^{35/}

The U.S. made no statement on this subject in either the Fourth Committee or in plenary.

GENERAL RESOLUTIONS ON COLONIALISM

As in previous years, the General Assembly also adopted, under several different agenda items, a number of resolutions on different aspects of colonialism and racial discrimination.

Fourth Committee Resolutions

At eight meetings between October 5 and 31, the Fourth Committee considered the agenda item, "Activities of foreign economic and other interests which are impeding the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples in Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and in all other territories under colonial domination and efforts to eliminate colonialism,

apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa." On October 28 the Committee approved a resolution sponsored by 32 non-aligned and Eastern European countries which, inter alia, (1) reaffirmed the "relevant provisions of the Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and the Program of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia" adopted at the Maputo Conference, May 16-21, 1977 (p. 254); (2) reiterated that any state which deprived colonial peoples of their legitimate rights over their natural resources or subordinated those rights to foreign economic and financial interests violated its obligations under the UN Charter; (3) strongly condemned all states which collaborate "politically, diplomatically, economically, and militarily with South Africa in flagrant violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions, particularly the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Japan, Belgium, and Italy"; (4) strongly condemned the United States, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Israel for collaborating with South Africa in nuclear matters; (5) called on all Governments to take steps to put an end to economic enterprises by their nationals which are detrimental to the inhabitants of colonial territories, and to prevent new investments which run counter to the interests of the local people; (6) expressed the conviction that sanctions against Rhodesia should be expanded to cover all measures contemplated in Article 41^{36/} of the Charter; (7) requested all states to end the supply of funds and other forms of assistance to regimes which use such assistance to repress national liberation movements; (8) called on all states to end all economic, financial, or trade relations with South Africa concerning Namibia; and (9) requested all oil producing or exporting countries to cease supplying petroleum products to South Africa.

The draft was approved by a rollcall vote of 96 to 12 (U.S.), with 23 abstentions, and subsequently adopted by the General Assembly in plenary session on November 28 by a recorded vote of 101 to 12 (U.S.), with 28 abstentions.^{37/}

Speaking before the vote in the Fourth Committee, the U.S. Representative, Ms. Benton, reaffirmed the commitment of the United States to independence, self-determination, and majority rule in southern Africa. She stated, however, that the resolution was simplistic and unbalanced and would not accomplish the goals of the international community with regard to southern Africa. If the resolution were such that it would advance these goals, the United States would support it, but that was not the case. She said that negotiations were under way to achieve independence for Namibia and Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia) and that the imposition of far-reaching sanctions against South Africa at that time would damage the talks. She observed that certain members had called for the United States and other western countries to use their economic position to force

^{36/} Article 41 provides for measures "not involving the use of armed force" and says, "These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations."

^{37/} Resolution 32/35.

solutions in southern Africa, but that such a position was not consistent with the expressed hopes for the success of the western efforts to negotiate a peaceful settlement. She affirmed that the United States would continue using its influence in whatever ways it judged best calculated to bring about a rapid transition to majority rule in southern Africa.

Under the agenda item "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples by the specialized agencies and the international institutions associated with the United Nations" the Fourth Committee approved a draft resolution introduced by Bulgaria and sponsored by 50 states. The draft, inter alia, (1) reaffirmed that organizations within the UN system should extend "all the necessary moral and material assistance to the peoples of the colonial territories and their national liberation movements"; (2) expressed concern that assistance to date, particularly to Zimbabwe and Namibia, had been inadequate; (3) regretted that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund had "not yet taken the necessary measures towards the full and speedy implementation" of the decolonization resolutions, and particularly that they continued to cooperate with South Africa; and (4) requested the specialized agencies and other organizations within the UN system to render "all possible moral and material assistance" to the colonial peoples in Africa struggling for their liberation from colonial rule.

The draft was approved in Fourth Committee on November 9 by a rollcall vote of 130 to 0, with 4 abstentions (France, Federal Republic of Germany, U.K., U.S.), and adopted by the Assembly on November 28 by a recorded vote of 139 to 0, with 4 abstentions (France, Federal Republic of Germany, U.K., U.S.).^{38/}

In an explanation of vote in the Fourth Committee, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Lowenstein, reaffirmed U.S. opposition to increased politicization of the specialized agencies, on the grounds that the process undermined the effectiveness of the agencies in performing the technical and humanitarian functions for which they were established.

As in previous years, the United States supported two resolutions concerning educational and training programs for indigenous inhabitants of non-self-governing territories. Both were adopted without objection in Committee and plenary. The first resolution, introduced by Canada and sponsored by 52 states (including the U.S.), appealed to all states, organizations, and individuals to make generous contributions to the UN Educational and Training Program for Southern Africa. The Fourth Committee approved it on November 9, and the Assembly adopted it on November 28.^{39/} The second resolution, sponsored by 32 states, invited all states to make generous offers of study and training facilities to the inhabitants of non-self-governing territories, particularly those in southern Africa. The Fourth Committee approved it on November 7, and the

^{38/} Resolution 32/36.

³⁹ Resolution 32/37.

Assembly adopted it on November 28. 40/

A draft resolution regarding "Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories transmitted under Article 73e of the Charter of the United Nations" was approved by the Fourth Committee on November 9 by a recorded vote of 111 to 0, with 5 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the Assembly on November 28 by a recorded vote of 138 to 0, with 4 abstentions (France, Guatemala, U.K., U.S.).41/ The resolution (1) approved the relevant chapter of the Committee of 24 report, (2) reaffirmed the authority of the General Assembly to determine when a territory had achieved a full measure of self-government and stated that an administering power should continue to transmit information under Article 73e until the General Assembly had made such a determination, (3) requested that such information be transmitted within 6 months of the end of the administrative year in the territory concerned, and (4) requested the Committee of 24 to continue to discharge its functions in regard to this matter and to report to the Assembly at its 33rd session. The United States abstained because it disagreed with the view that the General Assembly is the definitive authority as to when a territory has achieved a full measure of self-government.

Plenary Resolutions

Under the agenda item "Cooperation between the United Nations and the OAU" the General Assembly on November 11 adopted without vote a resolution sponsored by 29 African states.42/ The resolution, *inter alia*, (1) took note of the report of the Secretary General in cooperation with the OAU and the relevant resolutions adopted by the OAU Summit held at Libreville July 2-5, 1977, (2) invited the OAU and the UN to cooperate in the speedy implementation of the Declaration of the Lagos Conference, (3) requested the Secretary General and all appropriate UN bodies to continue and to strengthen their cooperation with the OAU, (4) reaffirmed the determination of the UN and the OAU to end colonialism, apartheid and racial discrimination in southern Africa, (5) expressed appreciation to the Secretary General for the efforts he is making to obtain international assistance for African states experiencing economic difficulties and urged member states to contribute to the programs organized by the Secretary General and (6) requested the Secretary General to report to the 33rd General Assembly on the implementation of this resolution.

In stating the U.S. position before plenary session, U.S. Representative John Clifford Kennedy said:

"The United States is well aware of and fully appreciates the essential role that regional organizations play. We believe that regional cooperation is a concrete and necessary component of global cooperation. In particular, the U.S.

40/ Resolution 32/38.

41/ Resolution 32/33.

42/ Resolution 32/19.

Government wishes to reaffirm its respect for the OAU and the noble ideals embodied in its Charter . . . Mr. President, the U.S. is committed to work cooperatively with the nations of Africa to solve that continent's problems. In this regard the U.S. will continue to endeavor to make the spirit of cooperation a reality in our dealings with the OAU."

On December 7 the Assembly adopted 2 resolutions under its agenda item "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples." The first of these 43, a general colonialism resolution sponsored by 77 states was based on the report of the Special Committee on the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which it approved, taking into account the Declarations of the Maputo and Lagos Conferences, and submitted directly to plenary without reference to a main committee, the resolution, among other things, (1) reaffirmed the evils of colonialism, racism, apartheid, foreign economic exploitation and the suppression of liberation movements in colonial territories, (2) reaffirmed the legitimacy of the independence struggle of colonial peoples with all necessary means at their disposal, (3) condemned all collaboration, particularly in the military and nuclear fields, with South Africa and urged member states to cease such collaboration as well as to withhold all assistance to the Government of South Africa and to the Smith Regime in Rhodesia until majority rule comes to the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, (4) called upon the colonial powers to withdraw all their military bases from colonial territories and to refrain from establishing new ones, (5) requested the Special Committee to seek ways to implement General Assembly Resolution 1514 (the colonialism declaration), to suggest specific proposals in this regard to the 33rd General Assembly and to the Security Council, to examine the compliance of member states with the Declaration, to send missions to small territories and to take other steps to enlist world-wide support for the end of colonialism.

The resolution was adopted by a recorded vote of 134 to 0, with 9 abstentions (U.S.). The United States abstention was based on our position that the cutoff of nuclear relations with South Africa would make it more, rather than less, likely that South Africa would develop a nuclear weapons capacity while reducing the chances that South Africa would agree to sign the non-Proliferation Treaty. In addition the United States does not feel that all foreign economic activity in colonial territories is necessarily exploitative and we are not prepared to recognize the legitimacy of the armed struggle of colonial peoples. Finally, the U.S. was unable, in Maputo and Lagos, to accept the products of those Conferences without certain reservations and our abstention on General Assembly Resolution 32/42 was meant to reaffirm those reservations.

The second resolution, 44/sponsored by 82 states, was based on the report of the Special Committee. Adopted without vote, the resolution, inter alia, (1) approved the appropriate chapter of the report of the Special Committee and the relevant portions of the

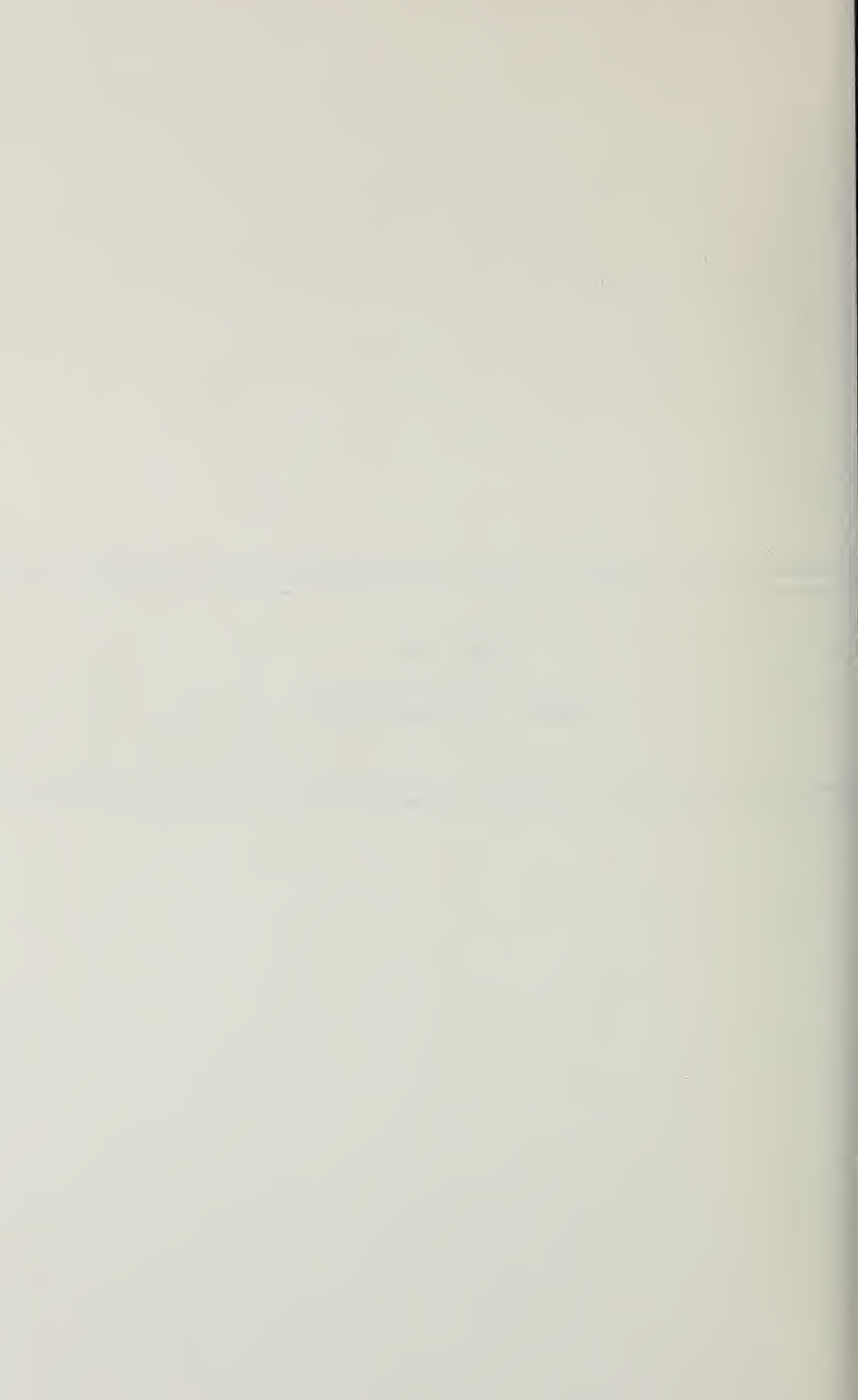
43/ Resolution 32/42.

44/ Resolution 32/43.

Maputo and Lagos Declarations, (2) reaffirmed the importance of the widest possible dissemination of information on the evils of colonialism and urged the Secretary General to assist with UN media in such dissemination, including continued close cooperation with the Special Committee and with non-governmental organizations and to report to the General Assembly at its 33rd session on the implementation of the resolution and, (3) urged the Special Committee to continue its efforts and to report to the 1978 session of the General Assembly on the implementation of this resolution.



PART IV.
LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS



Legal questions are relevant to a significant part of the work of the United Nations. Many of these questions, such as review of the UN Charter, law of the sea, and the uses of outer space, are discussed in other parts of this report in connection with the underlying issues to which they relate. However, because of their specific character, Part Four deals separately with the activities of the International Court of Justice, the International Law Commission, the UN Commission on International Trade Law, the General Assembly's Sixth (Legal) Committee, and special conferences of committees that consider such questions as relations between UN missions and host countries.

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. The Court's principal functions are to decide such cases as are submitted to it by states and to give advisory opinions on legal questions at the request of intergovernmental bodies authorized pursuant to the Statute of the Court and the UN Charter.

The Court is composed of 15 judges, no two of whom may be nationals of the same state, 1/elected by the UN General Assembly and the Security Council, voting independently. The electors are mandated to bear in mind the qualifications of the individual candidates and the need for the Court as a whole to represent the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world. Members of the Court are elected for nine years, one-third of the total number of judges being elected every three years.

At its 33rd session, the General Assembly will have to fill the seats being vacated in 1979 by Judges Jiménez de Aréchaga, Dillard, Ignacio-Pinto, de Castro and Morozov.

On April 14, 1977, the Court announced that the Members of its chamber of summary procedure, which the Court forms annually under Article 29 of its Statute, included President Jiménez de Aréchaga, Vice-President Nagendra Singh, and Judges Forster, Dillard and Sir Humphrey Waldock.

The Court submitted a brief report to the 32nd General Assembly on its activities in the period from August 1, 1976, to July 31, 1977. The report contained information on the composition of the Court and on its jurisdiction, judicial work, statute and rules, and publications. The General Assembly took note of the report at its 99th plenary meeting on December 9.2/

CASES

Only one case, the Aegean Sea Continental Shelf Case, was before the Court during 1977.

On August 10, 1976, Greece had instituted proceedings against Turkey in respect of a dispute concerning the delimitation of the continental shelf in the Aegean Sea and the respective legal rights of those two states to explore and exploit that continental shelf. Greece requested the Court to declare, inter alia, what was the course of the boundary between the respective portions of the continental shelf appertaining to either state and to declare that Turkey was not entitled to undertake any activities on the Greek

1/ See Appendix II, p.323 , for membership.

2/ Decision 32/422.

continental shelf, whether by exploration, exploitation, research or otherwise, without the consent of Greece. In invoking the Court's jurisdiction, Greece relied on Article 17 of the General Act of 1928 for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, read together with both Article 36, paragraph 1, and Article 37 of the Statute of the Court, and on a joint Greek-Turkish communique issued on May 31, 1975, in Brussels.

Greece also requested the Court to indicate interim measures of protection whereby the two Governments should be directed: (a) unless with the consent of each other, and pending the final judgment of the Court, to refrain from all exploration activity or any scientific research with respect to the areas in dispute; and (b) to refrain from taking further military measures or actions which might endanger their peaceful relations.

The Court held public sittings on August 25, 26 and 27, 1976, at which it heard the observations of the representatives of Greece concerning the request for the indication of interim measures of protection. Turkey was not represented at these hearings and on August 26 indicated in a written submission that it considered the Court had no jurisdiction in the matter.

On September 11, 1976, the Court declined to exercise its power under Article 41 of the Statute, as requested by Greece, to indicate interim measures of protection, but decided that the written proceedings should first be addressed to the question of its jurisdiction to entertain the dispute. The President of the Court subsequently set time-limits of April 18, 1977, for submission of Greece's Memorial and October 24, 1977, for Turkey's Counter-memorial.

On April 18, 1977, following a request submitted by Greece with a view to the facilitation of negotiations in progress, these time-limits were extended to July 18, 1977, and April 24, 1978, respectively. The Memorial of Greece was filed within the time-limit so fixed.

INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

Pursuant to a resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1947, the International Law Commission was established in 1948 to promote the codification and progressive development of international law. It is composed of 25 experts, elected by the Assembly for 5-year terms, who serve in their individual capacities. On November 17, 1976, Stephen M. Schwabel of the United States was elected by the General Assembly for a term beginning January 1, 1977.

The Commission studies topics it has determined are suitable for codification or which the General Assembly refers to it. Its normal procedure is to select one of its members to prepare a report and, after discussion, to draft articles of a codifying instrument. The Commission sends texts to governments for review, reconsiders them in the light of government comments, and then adopts final texts which it forwards to the General Assembly. When

the Assembly receives a set of draft articles, generally in the form of a proposed convention, it may convene a diplomatic conference to consider adoption of a convention, review the articles itself, note them, or remand them to the Commission for further study.

WORK OF THE COMMISSION'S 29th SESSION

The Commission held its 29th session in Geneva from May 9 to July 29, 1977. It provisionally adopted a number of draft articles on state responsibility, a topic which touches upon some of the most difficult and complex norms of contemporary international law. It also provisionally adopted a number of other articles on the succession of states in respect of matters other than treaties. The last major topic to which the Commission gave substantial attention was the question of treaties concluded between states and international organizations, or between two or more international organizations.

State Responsibility

The first major topic on the Commission's agenda in 1977 was state responsibility. The Commission reviewed and provisionally adopted three articles. Two of these articles were concerned with the distinction between the breach of an international obligation of means and the breach of obligations of result. The third article was a short statement of the basic rule concerning the exhaustion of local remedies.

Succession of States in Matters Other Than Treaties

The Commission provisionally adopted six articles on the succession of states in respect of matters other than treaties. Perhaps the most controversial was article 18, which attempted to define state debt. There was considerable difference of view as to whether the article should be limited to debts owed to other states and to international entities, or whether it should also cover debts owed by states to private individuals. There was a basic difference of opinion between those who considered that international law could only take cognizance of debts existing at the "international level" and those that considered international law was concerned not only with "international" debts of states but also those owed to private persons. The issue was left unresolved at this session of the International Law Commission.

A second highly controversial article was article 20, which deals with the effects of passing of state debts with regard to creditors. The basic principle of the preservation of the rights and obligations of creditors was broadly acceptable to members of the Commission. However, difficulty was found with the circumstances in which an agreement between the predecessor and successor states or between successor states might or might not be invoked against an individual creditor, as opposed to state creditors. This issue also was left unresolved. The Commission also prepared an article on newly independent states, inspired by the concept of the clean slate, to the effect that no state debt of predecessor

states shall pass to the newly independent state, unless there is an agreement to the contrary between the newly independent state and the predecessor state.

Question of Treaties

The Commission completed 22 articles on the question of treaties concluded between states and international organizations or between two or more international organizations. In large part the Commission continued to follow the pattern of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, which applies to treaties exclusively between states, and has applied those rules to treaties between states and international organizations. However, some articles of the draft convention vary in their terms from the Vienna Convention because of perceived differences between international organizations and states.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The Sixth Committee of the General Assembly considered the report of the International Law Commission at 17 meetings between October 21 and December 9. Although the Sixth Committee and the General Assembly traditionally--and again this year--write a resolution that gives only general guidelines for the Commission to rely on in its work, nearly 80 states took advantage of the debate to comment upon the substance of the work done by the Commission in 1977.

Speaking on November 11, the U.S. Representative, Robert Rosenstock, emphasized the importance of the Commission's work, stressing that the harmony and progressive development of international law is more important to the development of satisfactory international relations than is the discussion of some of the items which received more attention at the United Nations. With respect to the topic of state responsibility, he questioned the distinction drawn between obligations of result and obligations of means. He also said that in further drafting of the article on exhaustion of remedies, a distinction between procedural and substantive definitions of the exhaustion of local remedies should be approached with caution. He indicated that the present draft did not satisfactorily deal with the problem of the time from which damages for an international wrong should be calculated. With respect to treaties between international organizations and states, he suggested that the proper format for the Commission's work would have been a simple article applying the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, except as provided in articles that follow. There would be need for only a few articles giving a different treatment for treaties between states and international organizations than for treaties between states, because both international organizations and states clearly have international legal personalities and the capacity to enter into treaties. He questioned the desirability of the different treatment accorded these treaties in several of the articles proposed by the Commission.

Devoting most of his statement to the Commission's work on succession of states in matters other than treaties, the U.S. Representative challenged the argument of some members of the Com-

mission that state debt should not include debts owed to individuals, because such debts are not properly considered international. He pointed out that state succession is by definition international since it necessarily concerns more than the predecessor state. Moreover, it was long established that individual rights were a proper subject for international law. A similar issue was raised in another article which some would use to exclude the rights of creditors other than states or international organizations to proceed against successor States.

The U.S. Representative also devoted a significant part of his statement to a criticism of some of the Commission's methods of research. He pointed out that the international economic analysis done by the Commission in a portion of its report overlooked a number of well-known occurrences. He also took issue with some of the Commission's conclusions of law, specifically criticizing its treatment of the principle of permanent sovereignty over natural resources. He challenged the statement that the General Assembly had "recently reiterated and developed that principle," noting that the principle as lately reformulated by the General Assembly had not been accepted by a number of states and that the Assembly cannot, in the ordinary course, enact, formulate, or alter international law. He concluded with a discussion of the future work of the Commission. He urged the Commission to address the topics: (1) jurisdictional immunities of states and their property, and (2) international liability for injurious consequences arising out of acts not prohibited by international law.

On December 9, Lesotho introduced a draft resolution sponsored by 24 states which, inter alia, (1) took note of and approved the report of the International Law Commission on the work of its 29th session; (2) approved the program of work planned by the Commission for 1978; (3) recommended that the Commission should (a) complete at its 30th session the second reading of the draft articles on the most-favored-nation clause, (b) continue on a high priority basis its work on state responsibility, (c) proceed with preparation, on a priority basis, of draft articles on succession of states on matters other than treaties and treaties concluded between states and international organizations, and (d) continue its work on the law of nonnavigational uses of international water courses; (4) endorsed the conclusions reached by the International Law Commission to study proposals on the elaboration of a protocol concerning the status of the diplomatic courier and diplomatic bag; and (5) invited the International Law Commission, at an appropriate time, to begin work on the topics of international liability for injurious consequences not prohibited by international law, and jurisdictional immunities of states and their properties.

The Sixth Committee approved the resolution by consensus on the same day, and the General Assembly adopted it by consensus on December 19. ^{3/}

^{3/} Resolution 32/151.

CONFERENCE ON SUCCESSION OF STATES IN RESPECT OF TREATIES

In 1975, the 30th General Assembly decided 4/ (a) to convene a conference of plenipotentiaries in 1977 to consider the draft articles on succession of states in respect of treaties adopted by the International Law Commission in 1974 and submitted in that year to the 29th General Assembly, and (b) to embody the results of the conference in an international convention and such other instruments as it might deem appropriate. The 31st General Assembly, noting the invitation of the Government of Austria to hold the conference in Vienna, decided upon the recommendation of the Sixth Committee to convene the conference in that city from April 4 to May 6, 1977.5/

All states were invited to participate in the Conference. The Governments of 89 states, including the United States, did participate, along with representatives of the UN Council for Namibia, the PLO, SWAPO and various UN specialized agencies and other inter-governmental organizations. Between April 4 and May 6, 1977, the Conference held eight plenary meetings as well as 36 meetings of its Committee of the Whole, and adopted the texts of 25 of the 39 articles of the proposed convention. These articles relate to part I (general provisions), part II (Succession in respect of part of territory) and part III (newly independent states) of the International Law Commission's proposal. A key article thus adopted provides that newly independent states shall not be bound to become a party to, or maintain in force, any treaty simply because the treaty was in force with respect to the territory to which the succession of states related. On the difficult question of the use of the territory of one state for the benefit of another (for example, upper and lower riparian rights), the Conference deferred decision. The texts of the articles adopted by the Conference, together with a summary of the deliberation of the Committee of the Whole concerning all articles considered during the course of the Conference, were set forth in the Report of the Conference.6/

At its 7th meeting, on May 6, 1977, the Conference adopted a recommendation noting that due to the intrinsic complexity of the subject matter, it had not been possible to conclude its work within the time available. Expressing the conviction that one more session would enable it to conclude its work, the Conference recommended that the General Assembly decide to reconvene the Conference in 1978 for a final session of four weeks.

The Sixth Committee considered the Report of the Conference at four meetings between October 7 and November 11. On the latter date, the Committee adopted without a vote a draft resolution introduced by Austria and cosponsored by 18 other members. The draft resolution

4/ Resolution 3496 (XXX).

5/ Resolution 31/18.

6/ A/CONF.80/15.

took note of the report of the Conference, approved the convening of the resumed session in Vienna in 1978 and expressed the firm conviction that the Conference would thus conclude its work and adopt an international convention and other appropriate instruments as recommended by the General Assembly. The resolution 7/was adopted by the Assembly on December 8, 1977, without a vote.

REVIEW OF THE MULTILATERAL TREATY-MAKING PROCESS

By a letter dated July 19, 1977, Australia, Egypt, Indonesia, Kenya, Mexico, the Netherlands, and Sri Lanka requested the inclusion in the agenda of the 32nd General Assembly of a new item entitled "Review of the Multilateral Treaty-Making Process." On September 23 the General Assembly, on the recommendation of the General Committee, decided to include it in its agenda and to allocate it to the Sixth Committee.

In an explanatory memorandum attached to the request for inclusion of this item, the sponsors of the request stated their purpose: that the initiative was designed to examine the methods of multilateral treaty-making in order to assess whether the methods employed were as efficient and economical as possible. They suggested that if the examination revealed that there was a need for improvement, then the General Assembly should consider the steps which might be taken to achieve it. They emphasized the extent of the UN treaty-making activity, and they briefly related the variety of methods used in the treaty-making process. They suggested that the General Assembly might propose a study by the Secretariat, possibly in cooperation with UNITAR, and which could take into account the comments of governments, specialized agencies, the International Law Commission, and other interested organizations. Although hesitant to prejudge the outcome of their initiative, they thought that the initiative might ultimately result in the formulation of a manual of recommended practices, which would provide nonmandatory guidelines to aid the organizations of the United Nations in the selection of the most suitable techniques of treaty-making.

The Sixth Committee considered the item at five meetings between November 15 and 18. On November 16 Mr. Rosenstock explained the U.S. support for the initiative. He indicated that the importance of the multilateral treaty-making process was clear, and he referred to the number of treaties which had been produced over the years as indicators of the critical nature of this subject. He said that the importance of the subject matter justified review of the process of treaty-making from time to time, all the more since some substantial problems had arisen in recent years. In explaining the need for review of the treaty-making process, he referred to the fact that the Law of the Sea Conference had extended itself over a decade. He also pointed out that the United Nations Conference on Succession of States in Respect to Treaties had not been able to finish its task within the time made available to it, perhaps because so much time was spent selecting officers of the conference, because delegates were not fully prepared, and because unrelated

issues were introduced. He also noted that relatively recent multi-lateral treaties which had come out of the legislative process had not received substantial ratification. He wondered what problems in the legislative process might have contributed to this result. He noted that the Protection of Diplomats Convention ⁸/had been successfully drafted and suggested that the anatomy of that success merited study. He concluded that in light of the number of questions about recent practice and the variety in the treaty-making procedures, a study of the treaty-making process was merited; any such study should fully weigh the views of the International Law Commission. He also supported the idea that the Secretariat and UNITAR prepare a report on the techniques and procedures used in the elaboration of multilateral treaties in the United Nations. However, he warned that the United Nations should not lightly contemplate revising processes that had made valuable contributions, merely because there had been a few relatively lean years. He suggested that it might be advisable to allow the unproductive period to run its course rather than to force matters in a way that might be counter-productive.

On November 18 Australia introduced a resolution sponsored by 48 states. The resolution requested the Secretary General to prepare a report on the techniques and procedures used in the elaboration of multilateral treaties; invited governments and the International Law Commission to submit their observations on the subject; requested interested international organizations to lend necessary assistance; and decided to include in the proposed agenda of its 34th session the same item.

On November 18, the resolution was approved by consensus in the Sixth Committee. It was adopted by consensus in plenary on December 8. 9/

INTERNATIONAL TRADE LAW

The UN Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL) was established by the General Assembly in 1966 to promote the progressive harmonization and unification of the law of international trade. The Commission is composed of 36 states elected by the Assembly for a term of 6 years. 10/

8 / Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents. Adopted by the General Assembly Dec. 14, 1973.

9 / Resolution 32/48.

10/ Members in 1977 were Argentina, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Burundi, Chile, Colombia, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, Finland, France, Gabon, German Democratic Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, Ghana, Greece, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, Nigeria, Philippines, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Syria, Tanzania, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Zaire.

Much of UNCITRAL's basic work is carried out by working groups, varying in size from 7 to 21 members, which meet between sessions of the full Commission. The United States is a member of all the working groups. The Commission works closely with consultative groups of private experts, convened by the Secretary General, and with other UN and nongovernmental organizations.

WORK OF THE COMMISSION'S 10TH SESSION

UNCITRAL's 10th session, which took place in Vienna from May 23 to June 17, 1977, considered the following topics: international sale of goods, international payments, and liability for damage caused by products intended for or involved in international trade. The U.S. representative was E. Allan Farnsworth, Professor of Law at Columbia University.

International Sale of Goods

The highlight of UNCITRAL's 10th session was the adoption of a draft convention on the international sale of goods. The draft, which is designed to revise and bring up to date a 1964 Convention^{11/} that had not gained wide acceptance, contains provisions dealing with the interpretation of contracts, delivery, breach, and damages. A Convention on this subject is important as uniformity of practice will facilitate international trade.

International Payments

UNCITRAL continued its work in the field of international payments. The Commission is preparing a draft convention on International Bills of Exchange and International Promissory Notes. The chief feature is the creation of a new international negotiable instrument.

Products Liability

The Commission decided not to pursue work on the subject of Products Liability at this time.

GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

The Sixth Committee of the 32nd General Assembly considered the report of UNCITRAL at 10 meetings from September 28 to October 6, and on November 16 and December 9. As in previous years the speakers generally stressed the importance of UNCITRAL's work, approved the flexible working methods it has used, and complimented it and its working groups on their progress.

^{11/} Convention relating to a Uniform Law on the International Sale of Goods. The Hague, July 1, 1964.

On September 29 the U.S. Representative, Mr. Rosenstock, spoke on the work of UNCITRAL. He took the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Commission to reaffirm the respect of the United States for the actions of UNCITRAL, indicating that it provided an exceptional example of the manner in which bodies of the United Nations should operate. He referred to the spirit of constructive cooperation in UNCITRAL, the outstanding qualifications of the representatives, and the dedication of its secretariat. He also commented upon the ability of the Commission to carry out its highly technical work in a professional atmosphere. With respect to the draft Convention on International Sale of Goods, he stressed the importance of uniform practice as regards such important commercial questions as interpretation of contracts, delivery, breach, and damages, to the conduct of international trade. He indicated, however, the views of the United States that some specific provision should be made in the Convention for the recovery of interests, at some specified date where a party is damaged by the breach of contract. He indicated U.S. support for the decision of UNCITRAL to prepare a report on the feasibility of uniform rules on security interests and on their possible content. He said that the creation of a security interest which would be recognized and enforced outside the country where created, would enlarge the pool of credit available for international trade. He accepted the decision of UNCITRAL not to make products liability a priority item, but he expressed the hope that eventually the Commission would be able to produce a useful body of law on this topic.

On November 16, a draft resolution was submitted by 27 states which was an omnibus resolution on UNCITRAL's work. The resolution, inter alia: (1) took note with appreciation of the report of UNCITRAL; (2) commended the United Nations for the progress made in its work and its efforts to enhance the efficiency of its work methods; (3) noted with satisfaction that UNCITRAL had completed work on a draft Convention on the International Sale of Goods; (4) noted with regret that the Second International Symposium on International Trade Law could not be held due to the insufficiency of voluntary contributions from governments and other sources; (5) expressed its view that both the draft Convention on the International Sale of Goods and provisions on the Formation and Validity of Contracts for the International Sale of Goods should be considered by a conference of plenipotentiaries at an appropriate time; and (6) decided to defer its decision as to the appropriate time for convening the conference of plenipotentiaries. The resolution was approved by consensus in the Sixth Committee on November 16 and adopted in plenary, also by consensus, on December 16.^{12/}

The General Assembly also took a decision concerning the UN Conference on the Carriage of Goods by Sea, which had been convened pursuant to a resolution of the 31st session.^{13/} The General Assembly decided, in a decision taken by consensus in the Sixth Committee on December 9 and in the plenary Assembly by consensus on December 16 to: (1) take note of paragraph 58 of the report of UNCITRAL on the work of its 10th session and (2) to request the Secretary General to

^{12/} Resolution 32/145.

^{13/} Resolution 32/100.

invite the organizations referred to in that paragraph to participate in the Conference.^{14/} The organizations referred to in that paragraph include a number of nongovernmental organizations interested in international trade law matters, especially the International Chamber of Commerce. It had been feared that the terms of the Assembly resolution calling for the Conference would not allow the invitation of such organizations.

HUMAN RIGHTS IN ARMED CONFLICTS

The 32nd General Assembly, pursuant to a resolution of the 31st session and on the recommendation of the General Committee decided to include the item entitled "Respect for Human Rights in Armed Conflicts" in its agenda and allocated it to the Sixth Committee. The Sixth Committee considered the item at its 14th through 19th meetings between October 11 and October 17, and at its 50th meeting, on November 18.

In connection with the item, the Committee had before it a report of the Secretary General on the results of the fourth and final session of the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, held at Geneva from March 17 to June 10, 1977. That conference had been entrusted with the task of considering two draft additional Protocols to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 for the protection of war victims, one concerning international armed conflicts and the other concerning non-international armed conflicts, and the question of the possible prohibition or restriction of specific conventional weapons alleged to cause unnecessary suffering or to have indiscriminate effects. The conference concluded its work on June 10, 1977. Its final act was signed for the United States by Ambassador George Aldrich.

During the Sixth Committee consideration of the report of the Secretary General, Alan J. Kreczko summarized the U.S. views on the work which had just been completed by the Diplomatic Conference. He indicated that the United States believed that the conference had made a significant contribution to the codification and development of humanitarian law and he also indicated U.S. support for both Protocols that were produced at the conference and for their signature and ratification by all states.

With respect to Protocol I the U.S. Representative welcomed Articles 24-30 which for the first time gave medical aircraft significant immunity from attack, and Articles 32-34, which insure accounting of the missing in action and the protection of the remains of the dead. He pointed out that Protocol I incorporated several important principles that prevented the scope of the Conventions from being limited, to the detriment of certain persons. First, the preamble to Protocol I acknowledges that no person protected by the Conventions or the Protocol can be denied its protections through charges of aggression. Second, the preamble also recognized the application of the Protocol "in all circumstances to all persons

who are protected by those instruments, without any adverse distinction based on the nature or origin of the armed conflict or on the causes espoused by or attributed to the Parties to the conflict." This explicitly rejected the argument of some that the pursuit of certain causes can justify inhumane conduct. Third, Article 75, which establishes minimum standards of humane treatment for all persons not otherwise more specifically protected under the provisions of the Protocol, confirms basic human rights applicable at all times, guarantees certain rights to persons during detention and trial, and includes special protection for women.

Other important advances in the law made by Protocol I include the prohibition of indiscriminate attacks, including target area bombardment in cities; the clear definition of military objectives; the prohibition of starvation of civilians as a method of warfare and of destruction of crops and food supplies; the special protection, with reasonable exceptions, accorded dams, dikes and nuclear power stations; the codification of the rule of proportionality; (the requirement that an attack not cause damage or injury excessive in relation to the concrete and direct military advantage anticipated) and the definition of mercenary.

There was one important area in the U.S. view where Protocol I did not go far enough in its improvement of the 1949 Convention. The United States would have preferred that the Protocol provide a mechanism for the appointment of protecting powers in all instances and for the creation of a mandatory International Fact-Finding Commission, with power for inquiring into allegations of grave breaches or serious violations.

With respect to Protocol II, the United States indicated support of the basic thesis that international concern for humanitarian rights cannot be limited to the rights of those affected only by international conflicts but also must extend to those affected by internal conflicts. The U.S. Representative agreed that Protocol II developed the slim body of international law applicable to non-international armed conflicts but said that the development could have been more progressive. In his opinion, Article 1, which sets the scope of application of Protocol II, is full of qualifications which will tempt each government to argue that the Protocol does not apply to its own internal armed conflicts. In striking this balance, the United States believed that the conference deferred too much to the concept of national sovereignty rather than the protection of human rights and thereby limited its contributions to the development of humanitarian law in internal conflicts. Nevertheless, it was the U.S. view that if nations applied the Protocol in good faith its provisions would provide an important minimum level of protection for all victims of civil wars.

On November 18th the Representative of Sweden introduced a revised draft resolution (sponsored by 27 states) which, inter alia: (1) welcomed the successful conclusion of the Diplomatic Conference; (2) noted the recommendation of the Diplomatic Conference that a special conference be called on the issue of prohibition or restriction of use for humanitarian reasons of specific conventional weapons; (3) urged states to consider signing and ratifying the two additional Protocols; (4) appealed to states to become parties to the Geneva Conventions; and (5) requested the Secretary General to submit to

the General Assembly at its 34th session a report concerning the state of signature and ratification of the additional Protocols.

The Sixth Committee approved the draft resolution by consensus on November 18. The resolution was adopted in plenary by consensus on December 8.^{15/}

INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION AGAINST THE TAKING OF HOSTAGES

The item on an International Convention Against the Taking of Hostages was first placed on the agenda of the General Assembly by the Federal Republic of Germany at its 31st session. At that session, the General Assembly decided in resolution 31/103 to convene an Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention Against the Taking of Hostages.

The Ad Hoc Committee held its first session in New York from August 1 to 19, 1977. The committee consisted of 34 members, including the United States. The committee decided to divide its work into two parts: a general debate, and consideration of working papers submitted by states. During the general debate, many of the issues which have been discussed in United Nations' circles concerning the problems of international terrorism were again discussed. For example, certain states continued to stress that nothing should be done which would affect the legitimate rights of national liberation movements to struggle for self-determination; other states argued that the committee should also consider whether certain acts when committed by states could amount to the taking of hostages. In the general debate, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Rosenstock, emphasized that the committee should concentrate its attention on fulfilling its mandate, namely, with the drafting of an international convention against the taking of hostages as soon as possible. After general debate, the committee considered proposals of states. The committee had before it a draft convention against the taking of hostages which had been submitted by the Federal Republic of Germany. This working paper amounted to the only complete draft convention submitted by a state. However, during the committee meeting, several states submitted either amendments to the text prepared by the Federal Republic of Germany or independent proposals relating to certain issues such as scope or definition which would have to be dealt with in any convention. Although the committee did not specifically endorse the convention prepared by the Federal Republic of Germany, most delegations expressed their gratification at the initiative of the Federal Republic of Germany and a useful review was conducted of many of the technical aspects of the Federal Republic of Germany's convention. This review clearly revealed that legal problems would not prevent completion of a draft convention. However, the discussion of the draft revealed that there was considerable disagreement concerning the scope and/or definition in the convention. These issues were tied by some to the issue of the rights of national liberation movements and the question of whether state conduct should be dealt with in the convention. The Ad Hoc Committee could not resolve these issues and decided by consensus

^{15/} Resolution 32/44.

to recommend that the General Assembly at its 32nd session invite the Ad Hoc Committee to continue its work in 1978.

The Sixth Committee considered the item at its 59th to 63rd and 67th to 69th meetings between November 30 and December 12, 1977. On December 5, the U.S. adviser to the Sixth Committee, Mr. Kreczko, reaffirmed U.S. support for a draft convention against the taking of hostages. He indicated that the United States continued its support for the same reasons that it had supported the resolution at the 31st session, and he regretted that a text had not been completed at the first session of the Ad Hoc Committee. Although the committee had not been able to complete its work, the first session did reveal that legal issues would not need to prevent the rapid conclusion of a convention. Consideration of such issues as jurisdiction, international cooperation and the obligation to ease the situation of the hostages, indicated that there was substantial agreement on a number of points. He said that the draft convention prepared by the Federal Republic of Germany had served as the basis for discussion in the Ad Hoc Committee. While acknowledging that the committee had not been able to settle the important issue of the scope of the convention, he expressed his hope that the committee would be able to find the solution to this precedent in the anti-hijacking conventions.

On November 30, the Federal Republic of Germany introduced a draft resolution sponsored by 58 states, including the United States, which, inter alia, took note of the report of the Ad Hoc Committee; decided that the committee should continue to draft at the earliest possible date an international convention against the taking of hostages; invited governments to submit suggestions; requested the committee to submit its report and to make every effort to submit a draft convention against the taking of hostages to the General Assembly at its 33rd session; and decided to include the item in the agenda of its 33rd session.

The resolution was approved by consensus in the Sixth Committee on December 12, and on December 16, the General Assembly, also by consensus, adopted it in plenary session.^{16/}

INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

The item entitled "Measures to prevent international terrorism which endangers or takes innocent human lives or jeopardizes fundamental freedoms, and study of the underlying causes of those forms of terrorism and acts of violence which lie in misery, frustration, grievance and despair and which cause some people to sacrifice human lives, including their own, in an attempt to effect radical changes" was once again on the agenda of the General Assembly at its 32nd session.

Proposed in 1972 by the Secretary General, the item was originally intended as a means to develop international measures to combat terrorism. To this end, the United States presented a draft con-

^{16/} Resolution 32/148.

vention against the spread of terrorism to individuals and countries not party to the conflict concerned. No action was taken on the U.S. draft and the General Assembly in 1972 established an Ad Hoc Committee to study the problem of terrorism. However, the committee failed to produce any tangible results because of its inability to restrict its work to combatting terrorism. Instead, it devoted considerable time to discussing the causes of terrorism, state conduct, and the right of national liberation movements to achieve self-determination.

The report of the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism, which met in 1973, was on the agenda of the 28th, 29th, and 30th sessions of the General Assembly, but each year action was deferred to the following session because of lack of time. The 31st General Assembly in 1976 decided to reconvene the Ad Hoc Committee to meet during 1977.

The Ad Hoc Committee, composed of 35 states including the United States, met in New York, March 14-25, 1977. The committee devoted its first week to the election of officers and the adoption of an agenda. In the remaining time, the committee repeated the general arguments that have been presented in the terrorism debate since 1972. All speakers professed to be concerned with the problem of international terrorism. Nevertheless, some states continued to express the view that any action against international terrorism should not apply to acts committed by national liberation movements. Other states argued that the committee should devote its primary attention to the causes of terrorism before discussing measures that could be taken to eliminate terrorism, while a few states suggested that the more important problem was the question of illegal state conduct. Throughout the committee meetings the U.S. Representative, Mr. Orme Wilson, maintained that all terrorism must be condemned. He also reiterated views which the United States had made known in previous meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee and the Sixth Committee of the General Assembly, to the effect that the international community should not wait until the causes of international terrorism were fully understood before proceeding against terrorism. He also emphasized that the UN Charter provides legal guidelines for state conduct and that an international statement was now needed on the legality of certain individual acts. The Ad Hoc Committee concluded with a short report which summarized the divergent views.

The Sixth Committee of the 32nd General Assembly considered the Report of the Ad Hoc Committee at seven meetings between November 25 and December 9. Speaking on November 29, Mr. Rosenstock presented the U.S. position on the item of international terrorism. He stressed that the magnitude of the problem of international terrorism attested to the need for action by the international community. He reviewed those actions which the international community had taken formerly to deal with the problem, specifically the international conventions relating to interference with civil aviation that had been adopted at Tokyo, The Hague, and Montreal, (see p. 68 footnote) and the convention on the protection of diplomats done in New York. He also referred to the recently elaborated protocol to the Geneva convention of 1949 on human rights in armed conflicts and noted that the document reaffirmed in clear terms the unacceptability of certain terrorist acts, whether

committed by liberation movements or governments. He pointed out that just as there must be restrictions on the types of conduct states can resort to in their self-defense, so there must be restrictions on actions which individuals can take even in the pursuit of laudatory goals. He also noted that other bodies within the UN system were actively working on eliminating poverty, foreign occupation, and the denial of self-determination. He expressed the hope that these objectives were being pursued not simply because they might be causes of terrorism but because they had merit in themselves. He urged the Sixth Committee not to delay its work on the development of effective measures for combatting terrorism until other UN bodies had completed their work. He concluded by indicating that the United States would be willing to negotiate a new mandate for a committee on international terrorism, with the hope that it might be adopted by consensus and lead to productive sessions on the issue of international terrorism. However, he said that if the Sixth Committee insisted on convening the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism with the same mandate as it had in 1977, the United States would see no basis in anything that had transpired since the 31st Assembly to alter the views that the United States took at that time.

On December 9, Togo introduced (ultimately sponsored by 26 states) a resolution to reconvene the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism to continue its work under the same mandate given it in 1972. The draft resolution was substantially similar to the one adopted in 1976 but added a phrase instructing the Ad Hoc Committee to first study the underlying causes of terrorism and then recommend practical measures to combat terrorism.

The resolution was approved by the Sixth Committee on December 10 by a rollcall vote of 89 to 9 (U.S.), with 24 abstentions. The negative vote of the United States was based not only on the failure of the committee to make any progress with such a mandate, but the language in the resolution which made it as much a call for violence as an effort to deal with the scourge of terrorism. On December 16 the Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution by a vote of 91 to 9 (U.S.), with 28 abstentions.^{17/}

ASSISTANCE IN INTERNATIONAL LAW

The "UN Program of Assistance in the Teaching, Study, Dissemination, and Wider Appreciation of International Law" was established by the General Assembly in 1965. The two-fold program was to consist of (1) steps to encourage and coordinate existing international law programs; and (2) forms of direct assistance and exchange, such as seminars, training and refresher courses, fellowships, advisory services of experts, the provision of legal publications and libraries, and translations of major legal works. The Assembly also established an Advisory Committee to assist the Secretary General in developing and carrying out the Program. Both UNESCO and UNITAR were specifically invited to participate in the Program, and both have done so since

^{17/} Resolution 32/147.

its inception.

By its resolution¹⁸/adopted at the 30th session on this item, the General Assembly decided to appoint a committee of 13 states, including the United States, to act as an advisory committee on the UN program of Assistance in the Teaching, Study and Dissemination, and Wider Appreciation of International Law, and to review the program of work proposed by the Secretary General. The advisory committee met on November 2, 1977 and considered a report of the Secretary General on the item, and oral statements by representatives of UNESCO, UNITAR and a member of the International Trade Law branch of the Office of Legal Affairs. The committee generally expressed support of the measures which had been taken to implement the program during 1976 and 1977, and endorsed the activities which had been proposed for the biennium 1978-1979.

The Sixth Committee considered the item at its 52nd, 53rd and 62nd meetings on November 22 and 23 and December 5. On December 5, the Representative of Ghana introduced a draft resolution, ultimately sponsored by 19 states, that, inter alia, (1) authorized the Secretary General to carry out in 1978 and 1979 the activities specified in his report, including the provision of (a) a minimum of 15 fellowships, at the request of developing countries, and (b) a travel grant for one participant from each developing country invited to the regional activities to be organized during the two years; (2) expressed appreciation to the Secretary General for his constructive efforts to promote training and assistance in international law; (3) expressed appreciation to UNESCO and UNITAR for their cooperation and participation in the Program and to the Governments of the Bahamas, Bangladesh, and Qatar for serving as hosts for regional training and refresher courses held in 1976 and 1977; (4) urged all governments to encourage the inclusion of courses on international law in the programs of legal studies offered in institutions of higher learning; (5) requested the Secretary General to continue publicizing the Program; (6) reiterated a request to member states, interested organizations, and individuals to make voluntary contributions toward financing the Program; (7) requested the Secretary General to report to the General Assembly at its 34th session on the implementation of the program during 1978-1979; and (8) to include the item in its proposed agenda of the 34th session.

On December 5 the Sixth Committee approved the draft resolution by consensus, and on December 16 the Assembly adopted it, also by consensus.¹⁹/

NON-USE OF FORCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In 1976 the 31st General Assembly had adopted a resolution 20/

18/ Resolution 3502 (XXX).

19/ Resolution 32/146.

20/ Resolution 31/9.

inviting member states to examine further the draft World Treaty on the Non-Use of Force in International Relations submitted earlier during that session by the Soviet Union, and calling upon them to communicate their views to the Secretary General. The resolution also requested the Secretary General to report on these communications to the 32nd General Assembly. During 1977, 51 states, including the United States, submitted their views.

The U.S. submission, dated June 9, reiterated the serious concerns voiced by U.S. representatives at the time the item was considered at the 31st General Assembly. Noting that the United States remained firmly committed to the prohibition on the threat or use of force clearly and authoritatively set forth in Article 2, paragraph 4, of the UN Charter, it questioned the need for any restatement or revision of that prohibition. Needless duplication or selective reiteration of the commitments undertaken in the Charter could diminish their solemnity, create confusion and loopholes, and detract from efforts to reach realistic solutions to concrete arms control problems. What is needed, in the U.S. view, is not a further gloss on the Charter but rather greater will on the part of states to honor existing commitments, to create more effective methods for the peaceful settlement of disputes, and to achieve agreement on arms limitation and reduction.

On September 23, 1977, on the recommendation of the General Committee, the 32nd General Assembly allocated the agenda item entitled "Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations" to both the First and Sixth Committees, as had been done during the 31st General Assembly.

The First Committee considered the item in general debate between November 29 and December 7, in conjunction with its consideration of agenda items entitled "Implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security" and "Deepening and Consolidation of International Detente and Prevention of the Danger of Nuclear War." On December 7, in light of the fact that the Sixth Committee was about to adopt a recommendation for submission to the General Assembly, the Committee decided not to discuss the item further.

The Sixth Committee considered the item at six meetings between December 6 and 12; 36 states took part in the debate. The Committee had before it the report of the Secretary General and a draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union, which called for the establishment of a Special Committee on a World Treaty on the Non-Use of Force in International Relations, and instructed the Committee to draft such a treaty "at the earliest possible moment" and to report on its work to the 33rd Assembly.

Speaking on December 8, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Rosenstock, said that the United States opposed creating a committee to deal essentially with questions of non-use of force. The idea of instructing the committee to elaborate a treaty was even worse. Rather, its attention should be devoted to the question of peaceful settlement of disputes. The best way for all states to realize the goals of the Charter was for them to comply with all its provisions, among which there was no hierarchy and which all had binding legal force.

On December 12, a revised draft resolution was submitted by the U.S.S.R., and ultimately cosponsored by 17 other states. The revision changed the name of the Committee to read "Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations," and amended the Committee's mandate by charging it "to consider proposals and suggestions of any state, bearing in mind the views expressed during the debate on this item at the 31st and 32nd sessions of the General Assembly with the goal of drafting a World Treaty on the Non-Use of Force in International Relations as well as the peaceful settlement of disputes or such other recommendations, as the Committee deems appropriate." The revised draft was approved by the Committee on December 12 by a rollcall vote of 85 to 4 (Albania, China, U.K., U.S.), with 24 abstentions.

On December 19, the Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution 21/as recommended by the Sixth Committee by a vote of 111 to 4 (Albania, China, U.K., U.S.), with 27 abstentions. The size of the Committee was set at 35 members, 22/to be appointed by the President of the Assembly on the basis of equitable geographical distribution and representing the principal legal systems of the world.

HOST COUNTRY RELATIONS

The 15-member Committee on Relations with the Host Country 23/ was established by the General Assembly in 1971 to replace the Informal Joint Committee on Host Country Relations. The Committee's mandate includes, among other things, consideration of questions relating to the security of missions to the United Nations and the safety of their personnel, as well as issues arising in connection with the implementation of the Headquarters Agreement. 24/

The Committee received a number of communications during 1977 concerning terrorist acts, incidents of violence, and other allegations of unlawful acts against missions and their personnel. Specific incidents contained included the firebombing of the Tunisian mission, ransacking of a hotel room occupied by a member of the delegation of Yemen (Aden), occupation by demonstrators of

21/ Resolution 32/150.

22/ The Committee was composed of Argentina, Belgium, Benin, Brazil, Bulgaria, Chile, Cuba, Cyprus, Ecuador, Egypt, Finland, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Guinea, Hungary, India, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Nepal, Poland, Romania, Senegal, Somalia, Spain, Togo, Turkey, Uganda, U.S.S.R., U.K., and U.S. The Committee was subsequently scheduled to meet in New York from Aug. 21 to Sept. 15, 1978.

23/ Resolution 169 (II).

24/ Members in 1977 were Bulgaria, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Cyprus, France, Honduras, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Mali, Senegal, Spain, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, and the United States.

the entrance hall of the French mission, an assault by unknown persons against a member of the Soviet mission, and an armed attack against the Yugoslav mission.

The Committee met only three times during 1977. Two meetings were held at the request of the Yugoslav mission to consider the armed attack against it and the subsequent granting of bail to individuals apprehended by local authorities in connection with the attack. Some members expressed the view that these incidents, and others described in the various communications to the Committee, indicated that the host country had not taken adequate measures to safeguard missions and their personnel. Other members, while deploring the incidents, expressed confidence that host country authorities would continue to do their utmost to safeguard the security of missions.

Speaking on July 19, the U.S. Representative, Ambassador Leonard, expressed regret at these incidents and referred to the fact that it had not been necessary to hold a meeting of the Committee during the first 6 months of 1977, which augured well for the state of the diplomatic community in New York. He noted that the authorities had apprehended the terrorists involved in the armed intrusion at the Yugoslav mission and would prosecute them to the full extent of the law. He took exception to the questioning of the granting of bail to these individuals, pointing out that local law permits release on bail in such cases. In reply to the other complaints, Ambassador Leonard stressed that police were able to take effective measures to protect missions and their personnel, to investigate incidents, and to apprehend those responsible only if they could count on the cooperation of the missions concerned. He stressed that the United States has frequently demonstrated its earnestness in dealing with international terrorism and would continue to make every effort to meet its responsibilities with respect to the protection of missions and their personnel.

The United States also submitted to the Committee the annual report by the New York City Commission for the United Nations and for the Consular Corps, which summarized its efforts to assist the diplomatic community in New York, and a separate Commission report concerning the indebtedness of missions and their members. The latter stated that from May 1974 to June 1, 1977 diplomatic debts reported to the Commission amounted to nearly \$804,000, of which not quite \$551,500 had been repaid.

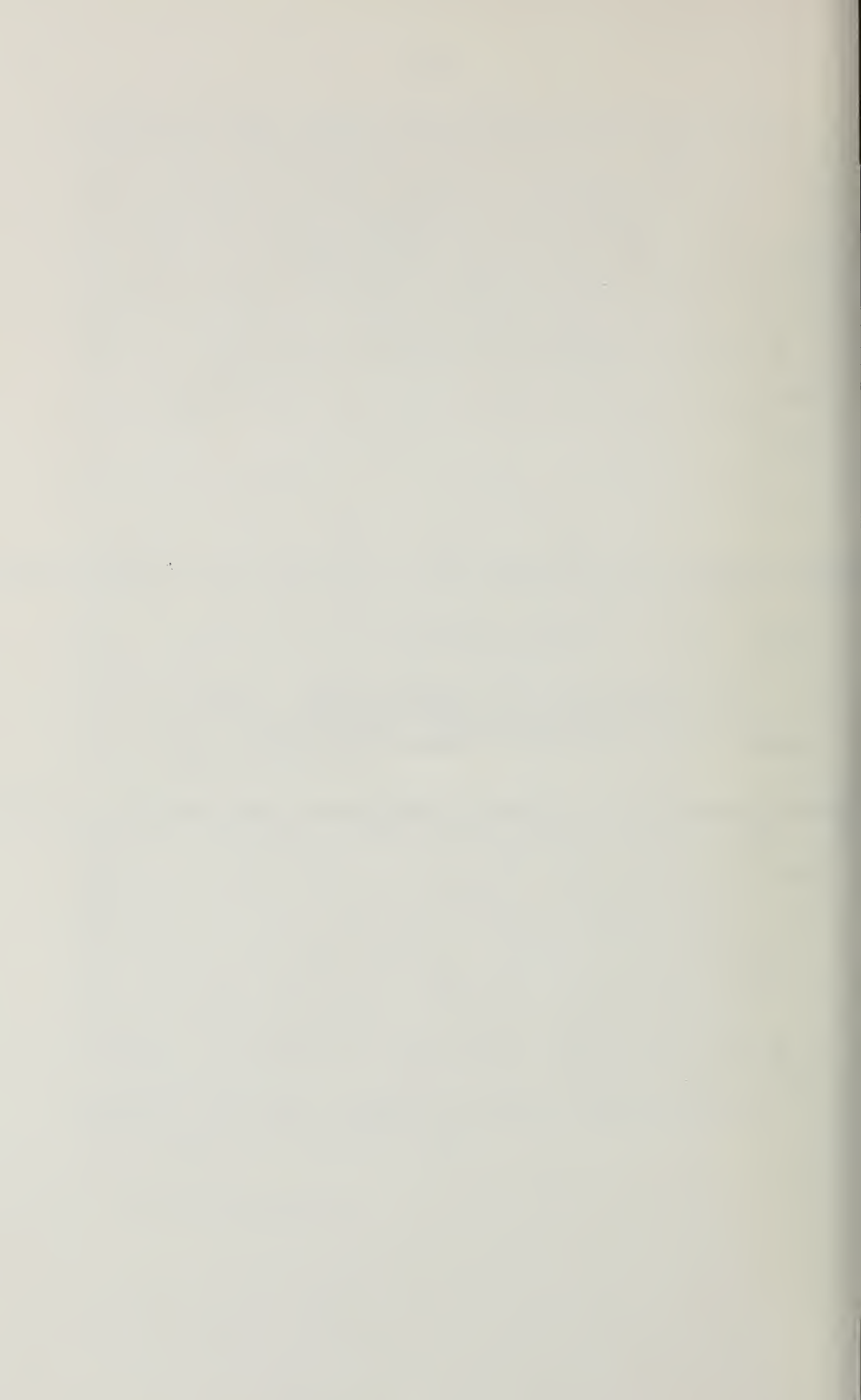
In its report to the General Assembly, adopted on October 12, the Committee made a number of recommendations. The Committee, inter alia, (1) noted with satisfaction the assurances given by the competent authorities of the host country concerning the security of missions and safety of personnel, and recognized the usefulness of the various measures taken to that end; (2) considered with deep concern the serious acts of terrorism and other criminal acts which had nevertheless been committed against several missions; (3) condemned terrorist and other criminal acts in relation to any mission, its personnel, and property as being totally incompatible with the status of missions and their personnel under the norms of international law; (4) urged the host country to take all necessary measures without delay to prevent any acts violating the

security of missions and the safety of their personnel or the inviolability of their property, and to ensure normal conditions for the existence and functioning of all missions; (5) urged the host country to take all necessary measures to apprehend, bring to justice and punish all those responsible for committing criminal acts against missions, as provided by the 1972 Federal Act for the Protection of Foreign Officials and Official Guests of the United States; (6) urged the host country to take effective measures to prohibit illegal activities of organizations and persons that organize, instigate, encourage, or engage in the perpetration of terrorism or other acts of violence against missions or their personnel; (7) called upon the missions of UN members to cooperate as fully as possible with the Federal and local United States authorities in cases affecting the security of missions and their personnel; (8) expressed the hope that efforts would be continued and intensified with a view to implementing an information program to acquaint the population of the City of New York and its boroughs with the privileges and immunities of the personnel of missions accredited to the United Nations and with the importance of the international functions performed by them; (9) emphasized that it is the duty of all members of the diplomatic community to respect the laws and regulations of the host country; (10) suggested that the UN Secretariat and others concerned work together to solve outstanding difficulties concerning unpaid bills for goods and services rendered to certain missions and individual diplomats; and (11) expressed appreciation to the New York City Commission for the United Nations and for the Consular Corps and those bodies which contribute to its efforts to help accommodate the needs, interest and requirements of the diplomatic community, to provide hospitality, and to promote mutual understanding between the diplomatic community and the people of New York.

The Sixth Committee considered the report of the Committee on Host Country Relations at three meetings between November 21 and November 30. On November 22, the U.S. Representative, Mr. Rosenstock, said that his delegation associated itself with the unreserved condemnation of all who attacked diplomatic premises but said it should be borne in mind that such incidents had been isolated occurrences. The United States would continue to seek to prevent such incidents and, where necessary, would seek the apprehension, trial, and conviction of those responsible, in accordance with due process of law. On November 30, the Sixth Committee approved by consensus a resolution sponsored by Cyprus accepting the recommendations of the Committee on Host Country Relations and deciding to continue the work of the Committee, with the purpose of examining on a more regular basis all matters falling within its terms of reference. The General Assembly subsequently adopted the resolution by consensus on December 8. 25/

PART V.

BUDGET, ADMINISTRATION, AND
INSTITUTIONAL MANAGEMENT



UN FINANCIAL MATTERS

UN FINANCIAL SITUATION

The short-term deficit of the United Nations has continued to increase. At September 30, 1977, the deficit was over \$120 million, an increase of more than \$11 million since December 31, 1976. This deficit results in part from intentional withholdings by some members, particularly the U.S.S.R., of all or part of their assessments for certain UN peacekeeping operations. The Soviet Union also adds to the deficit by attempting to pay its share of technical assistance in nonconvertible, and therefore largely unusable, rubles.

In 1975 the 30th General Assembly established a Negotiating Committee on the Financial Emergency of the United Nations to seek a solution to the UN financial problem. The Committee failed to reach agreement and reported to the Fifth Committee of the 31st General Assembly that the situation remained serious and that no solution was in sight. Consideration of the Committee's report, however, was deferred until the 32nd session of the Assembly which debated it briefly at six meetings between November 2 and December 9, 1977.

Speaking on November 2, the U.S. Representative, Congressman Wolff, pointed out that the United States had paid all of its assessments in full throughout the history of the United Nations. He noted that the United States had sometimes disagreed strongly with the purposes for which funds were appropriated, but declared: "Nevertheless, the overriding position of principle that assessments should be paid has always governed our actions in the United Nations." In replying to suggestions that concessions might be made, Congressman Wolff pointed out that concessions had been tried on a piecemeal basis over the years, and that they had met with complete intransigence by those responsible for the financial emergency. "Further concessions," he indicated, "can be made only within the context of a comprehensive solution to the problem."

On December 9 the Fifth Committee approved by consensus a draft resolution that, inter alia, (1) expressed concern that the Negotiating Committee had not reached consensus on a solution to the organization's financial problems; (2) requested the Negotiating Committee to keep the financial situation under review and continue its efforts to bring about a comprehensive settlement; (3) requested the Secretary General to provide the Assembly at its 33rd session with detailed information regarding the extent, rate of increase, and composition of the deficit as well as voluntary contributions received from member states and other sources; and (4) decided to consider the question again in 1978. The Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution on December 14 without vote. 1/

1/ Resolution 32/104.

UN REGULAR BUDGET

The General Assembly on December 21, 1977, by a recorded vote of 119 to 9, with 6 abstentions (U.S.), approved an expenditure budget recommended by its Fifth Committee of \$985,913,300 for the 2-year period January 1, 1978, through December 31, 1979. The Assembly also approved, by a vote of 122 (U.S.) to 9, with 4 abstentions, a supplemental appropriation of \$5,556,000 for the 1976-77 biennium, which raised the total budget for those 2 years to \$789,488,900. Accordingly, the amount initially appropriated for 1978-79 exceeded the final budget for 1976-77 by \$196,424,400, a 24% increase.

This increase was attributable to \$42.8 million added costs of maintaining the prior level of operations at 1977 prices, \$61.6 million for resources growth, \$92.0 million for anticipated inflation and for losses due to currency fluctuation. The major components of the \$61.6 million for resources growth included the net addition of 373 new permanent positions (of which some 60% were conversions from temporary assistance posts or transfers from extrabudgetary accounts); \$31.9 million for construction, alterations, improvement, and major maintenance of premises; \$3.4 million for preparation of the 1979 Conference on Science and Technology for Development; \$1.2 million for public information; and \$3.2 million for administrative, management, and general services.

Before the vote in the Fifth Committee, the U.S. Representative, Congressman Wolff, explained the U.S. position. He expressed deep concern and alarm at the rate of increase of the budget over the previous biennium, and stressed that means must be found to contain it. While noting that the United States could not support the budget before the Committee, he did give credit to better program budgeting and other constructive actions taken by that Committee and, in particular, by the UN Controller. He cited what he called "certain significant and progressive actions" which the Committee had taken: adoption of the report of the International Civil Service Commission, full implementation of the statute of the Joint Inspection Unit, the endorsement given the report of the Board of Auditors, and retention of the Committee on Conferences with an improved mandate. Further, the additional limitation which the Fifth Committee placed on the use of first-class travel was a good example of savings that could be realized to the benefit of programs.

Congressman Wolff called for significant improvement in fiscal responsibility by member states. He expressed great disappointment that the Secretary General, despite resolutions of two successive General Assemblies, had not identified outmoded and obsolete programs. Moreover, the United States did not think it prudent of the Secretary General to request upgrading of posts prior to the completion of the general job classification study then underway. In the U.S. view, reductions beyond those recommended by the ACABQ ^{2/} could have been made in the funds requested for UNIDO, the Office of

^{2/} The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary
(continued)

Public Information, and the programs recommended by ECOSOC.

In the course of its consideration of the 1978-79 budget, the Fifth Committee considered a variety of special subjects with financial implications. The following two were of particular interest to the United States.

Language Services in the UN

A draft resolution calling for the expansion of Arabic language services in the United Nations, ultimately sponsored by 25 members including all the Arab states, was introduced on October 19. It was approved on December 6 by a vote of 89 to 0, with 13 abstentions (U.S.), and adopted by the General Assembly on December 21 by a recorded vote of 123 to 0, with 12 abstentions (U.S.). 3/ In this connection, the United States on December 6 had submitted to the Fifth Committee a draft decision calling on the Secretary General to study and report on alternative means of defraying language costs, including a "user pay" system (wherein the costs of a specific language would be borne only by the users of that language), and on organizational and functional implications of improvement in the provision of language services. There was substantial opposition to this proposal in the Committee, however, and the United States withdrew its draft decision on the understanding that the 33rd General Assembly's consideration of the Joint Inspection Unit's report on the implications of additional languages in the UN system would take into account the discussion which had already taken place on the draft proposal in the Fifth Committee.

Effects of Inflation and Monetary Instability

The problem of how to cope with inflation and the instability of exchange rates is of growing concern to UN members. It was discussed intermittently throughout the 32nd General Assembly, but no action was taken.

On October 28 the Fifth Committee decided without objection to (1) take note of a report by the Secretary General on the impact of inflation on the budgets of organizations in the UN system, (2) consider the report to be an interim report, and (3) request the Secretary General to report again on this subject at the 33rd

(Footnote continued from p. 292).

Questions is an expert body appointed by the General Assembly for 3-year terms. On Nov. 11 the Assembly appointed Virginia C. Housholder (U.S.) to fill the unexpired term of David Stottlemeyer (U.S.), whose resignation became effective Nov. 15; this term will end Dec. 31, 1978. On Dec. 14 the Assembly adopted without objection a resolution (32/103), recommended by its Fifth Committee, increasing the membership of the ACABQ from 13 to 16 members.

3/ Resolution 32/205.

session. 4/

On December 12 Cuba introduced a draft resolution that expressed concern for the effects on UN programs of inflation and monetary instability in the developed countries in which the United Nations incurs expenditures. The draft proposed, *inter alia*, that (1) 80% of the losses incurred for these reasons should be borne by the developed countries in which the United Nations had headquarters, in proportion to the expenses incurred in those countries; (2) the remaining 20% should be borne by the other countries, pro-rated in accordance with the regular scale of assessments; and (3) such losses sustained in developing countries where the United Nations has headquarters should be absorbed by the regular budget. In earlier years similar Cuban proposals (which the United States has always opposed) have been defeated in the Fifth Committee; in 1977, the Fifth Committee decided by a vote of 56 (U.S.) to 20, with 15 abstentions, to defer consideration of the draft until the 33rd Assembly.

On December 14, by a vote of 37 to 28 (U.S.), with 18 abstentions, the Committee also decided to defer until the 33rd session consideration of a draft proposed by Australia and Singapore that would have directed the Secretary General to ensure, in issuing allotments to program managers, that appropriate adjustments were made in those cases where the actual inflation proved to be less severe than had been budgeted for. The United States would have voted for this draft had it come to a vote.

U.S. Call for Fiscal Stringency

On December 21, at the final plenary meeting of the 32nd session of the General Assembly, Ambassador Young repeated the call for fiscal stringency. He pointed out the necessity to set priorities and to restrain expenditures until that was accomplished. He concluded with a plea to use better programming and management in expending the large sums of money in the UN budget.

SCALE OF ASSESSMENTS

The U.S. share of the assessed budgets of the United Nations, the specialized agencies, and the IAEA were as follows in 1977:

	1977 (Percent)	1978 (Percent)
UN	25.00	25.00
FAO	25.00	25.00
ICAO	25.00	25.00
ILO	25.00	--
IMCO	04.09	04.09
ITU	07.08	07.04
UNESCO	25.00	25.00

4/ This decision was adopted without vote by the Assembly in plenary session on Dec. 21 as part II of resolution 32/212.

	1977 (Percent)	1978 (Percent)
UPU	06.00	04.69
WHO	25.43	25.00
WIPO	04.17	04.25
WMO	23.58	23.46
IAEA	27.89	26.29

The General Assembly fixes the rates of assessments for members of the United Nations on the basis of the recommendations of the Committee on Contributions. ^{5/} The assessment rates of the specialized agencies are determined by each agency and are in many, but not all, cases based on the UN scale.

The Committee on Contributions makes its recommendations, normally for a 3-year period, on the basis of national income statistics submitted by the member states. During the 31st General Assembly, in 1976, however, there was considerable opposition to the proposed scale from countries who believed that the .02% minimum rate was still beyond the capacity of some states to pay, and from those countries--mostly oil exporters--who objected to the large proportional increases in their rates caused by the sharp rises in their income in the base years, 1972-74. The Assembly, therefore, had approved the rates for 1977 only and had requested the Committee on Contributions to report again to the 32nd session of the Assembly in 1977. At the 31st session it was decided that the minimum rate should be reduced from .02% to .01%.

In developing the new scale for 1978-79 on the basis of guidance provided by the Assembly, the Committee on Contributions sought to reduce the rates for developing countries in a variety of ways. One of these served to mitigate sharp increases in rates by expanding the statistical data base from the most recent three years to the most recent seven (1969-75 in this case). In the proposed scale submitted to the 32nd General Assembly, the 27 members identified as developed were assessed 89.04% of the UN budget (compared to 88.27% in 1977), while the remaining 120 ^{6/}developing countries were assessed a total of only 10.96%. In the new scale 66 states were assessed a minimum of .01% and 17 were assessed .02% (compared to 81 assessed the minimum of .02% in 1977). Other noteworthy changes were the decrease in the rates of the 13 OPEC countries, as a group, from a total of 2.01% in 1977 to 1.90% for 1978-79; the decrease of Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany--which had received large increases in 1977--from 8.66% and 7.74% to 8.64% and 7.70%, respectively; and the increase of the three Soviet states from a total of 13.23% to 13.54%. The assess-

^{5/} The Committee is an expert body appointed by the General Assembly for 3-year terms. Richard V. Hennes of the United States was a member during 1977.

^{6/} The two states admitted in 1977--Djibouti and Vietnam--were not included in this scale.

ment of the United States remained at 25% pursuant to a resolution 7/ adopted by the 27th General Assembly on December 13, 1972, which decided that "as a matter of principle, the maximum contribution of any one member state to the ordinary expenses of the United Nations shall not exceed 25% of the total."

The Fifth Committee of the 32nd General Assembly considered the proposed scale at five meetings between October 13 and 24. Speaking on October 21, the U.S. Representative, Congressman Wolff, paid tribute to the work of the Committee on Contributions, but noted that it could not rise above the guidance provided it by the General Assembly. In the U.S. view, he said, the recommended scale for 1978-79 was deficient in that it accorded insufficient responsibilities to those countries whose incomes had risen dramatically in recent years and whose currency reserves had expanded commensurately; accordingly, the United States could not vote for the scale of assessments.

The Committee approved the scale on October 24 by a rollcall vote of 90 to 2, with 12 abstentions (U.S.), and the Assembly adopted it on December 2 by a recorded vote of 101 to 1, with 12 abstentions (U.S.). 8/

FINANCING OF UNEF AND UNDOF

On October 21, 1977, the Security Council extended UNEF for 1 year, and on November 30 it extended UNDOF for an additional 6 months. (See Part I, p. 5)

On October 25 the General Assembly, on the recommendation of its Fifth Committee, adopted by a vote of 77 (U.S.) to 4, with 24 abstentions, a resolution 9/authorizing the Secretary General to enter into commitments not exceeding \$6,083,333 per month for UNEF and not exceeding \$1,359,583 for UNDOF, for the period October 25 to November 30, 1977. This interim funding was provided in order to allow adequate time for consideration of the Secretary General's report on financing the two forces.

On December 2 the General Assembly adopted separate resolutions on UNEF and UNDOF by a single recorded vote of 115 (U.S.) to 2 (Albania, Syria), with 10 abstentions. The first^{10/}appropriated \$76,321,000 for the operation of UNEF from October 25, 1977, through October 24, 1978. The second^{11/}appropriated \$11,611,871 for the operation of UNDOF from October 25, 1977, until May 31, 1978, and authorized the Secretary General to enter into commitments at a rate not to exceed \$1,607,000 per month for the period from June 1

7/ Resolution 2961 B.

8/ Resolution 32/39.

9/ Resolution 32/4 A.

10/ Resolution 32/4 B.

11/ Resolution 32/4 C.

to October 24, 1978, should the Security Council decide to continue the force beyond the period of 6 months authorized by the Security Council's resolution 420 of November 30.

During the consideration in the Fifth Committee and the plenary Assembly, a number of states among those withholding money or funds (Albania, Bulgaria, Syria, China, Yemen (Aden), Iraq, Benin, and the U.S.S.R.) explained their varying rationales for refusing to pay all or part of their UNEF and UNDOF assessed contributions. Speaking in the Fifth Committee on October 24, the Soviet Representative contended that his country had no intention of bearing the costs of the additional expenses arising from the new tasks entrusted to UNEF and UNDOF following the agreement concluded between Egypt and Israel on September 4, 1975. He said that the Soviet Union would accept no responsibility in connection with that agreement, which had been concluded bilaterally, outside the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. When, originally, it had agreed to finance UNEF, it was on the understanding that the situation would be a temporary one.

In a further action on December 2, the General Assembly decided, by a vote of 112 (U.S.) to 3, with 10 abstentions, to approve new rates of reimbursements to troop contributing countries to UNEF and UNDOF of \$680 per man-month for all ranks as opposed to the \$500 rate which had existed previously. The rate for specialists increased commensurately, from \$150 to \$200.

The resolutions of apportionment continued the funding formula established by the 28th General Assembly in 1973, whereby the least developed members pay 10% of their regular UN assessed rate, the other developing countries pay 20% of their regular rate, the developed countries (except the five permanent members of the Security Council) pay their regular rate, and the five permanent members pay the balance, or about 18% more than their regular rate. This formula implicitly recognizes both the special responsibility of the permanent members of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security and the collective responsibility of all UN members to meet peacekeeping costs.

INSTITUTIONAL MATTERS

PROGRAM BUDGETING, COORDINATION, AND EVALUATION

In its efforts to improve the UN machinery and procedures for program budgeting, the coordination of UN system program and activities, and the evaluation of those programs and activities, the United States focused on the Committee for Program and Coordination (CPC), 12/the Joint Inspection Unit (JIU), 13/and the Ad Hoc Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System (see below, p.302). Action on the UN

^{12/} A standing committee of ECOSOC, the CPC assists ECOSOC in carrying out its responsibilities for the coordination and review of
(continued)

program budget for 1978-79, approved in 1977, is discussed above (see p.292).

Committee for Program and Coordination

The CPC held its 17th session in New York May 9 and May 23-June 17. The Committee reelected by acclamation Peter Hansen of Denmark to serve as Chairman. The major items on the agenda were (1) the proposed program budget for the biennium 1978-1979, (2) reports of the JIU, (3) reports of the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC),¹⁴ /and (4) reports of the specialized agencies and the IAEA.

In its conclusions and recommendations relating to CPC working methods, the Committee recommended, inter alia, that the General Assembly adopt a resolution reaffirming the CPC's role as the main subsidiary body of both ECOSOC and the General Assembly for planning, programming, and coordination. The CPC also recommended that the General Assembly instruct the Secretary General to show in his future draft program budgets the 10% highest priority activities and the 10% lowest priority activities. The Committee also concluded that it would be preferable in the future to review agency activities sector-by-sector rather than on an organization-by-organization basis.

Regarding evaluation, the CPC held a general discussion of evaluation methodology and procedures and of its own role in this context. For this purpose it had before it a report by the Secretary General on program evaluation for the biennium 1974-75 and associated internal evaluation reports on the transport, public information, human settlements, and environment sectors. Of more importance, the Committee also had before it a report on evaluation in the UN system prepared by Inspector Earl Sohm (U.S.) of the JIU. At the invitation of the Committee, the meetings on evaluation were attended by the Chairman of the JIU (Maurice Bertrand). The Committee generally welcomed the recommendations in the JIU report and accep-

(footnote continued from p. 297).

UN and specialized agency programs in economic and social fields. Members in 1977 were Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Byelorussian S.S.R., Chile, Colombia, Denmark, France, India, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Pakistan, Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Zaire.

^{13/} Eight Inspectors who serve in their individual capacities. Earl Sohm of the United States is a member.

^{14/} Composed of the UN Secretary General and the executive heads of the specialized agencies and IAEA; the heads of other UN organs are invited to participate as appropriate. The ACC's function is to supervise the implementation of the agreements between the UN and the specialized agencies and ensure that the activities of the various bodies are fully coordinated.

ted the guidelines it suggested. At the conclusion of its discussions, the Committee recommended, inter alia, that intensified efforts should be made to define, through cooperation among the organizations of the UN system and the JIU, a methodology for evaluation, based on the maximum degree of common principles and guidelines; and that the JIU should be invited to continue, within its mandate, assisting the CPC in its evaluation function through oral and written comments on future evaluation reports.

The Committee's report included recommendations concerning the four programs reviewed in-depth. The Committee recommended that the public information program be held to a 'well below average' growth rate and opposed the creation of a new governing body for overseeing the public information program. In the transport field, the Committee dealt with the respective roles of ICAO, IMCO, UNCTAD, and the UN Headquarters Secretariat. The major change in this area recommended by the Committee was the transfer of UN Headquarters responsibilities for land transport activities to the regional commissions in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Regarding environment, the Committee indicated some reservations about the precise role of UNEP in the field of natural disasters and recommended to the General Assembly that UNEP should be held to an average relative growth rate for the 1978-79 program budget biennium. The Committee refrained from making recommendations regarding the program on human settlements since the institutional consequences of the Habitat Conference were still under consideration by ECOSOC (see p. 148).

The Committee expressed concern about the lack of compliance in some of the 1978-79 proposed programs with the relative growth rates that had been approved by the General Assembly in 1976 during its consideration of the medium-term plan for 1978-81. The programs noted were those concerning social development and humanitarian affairs, human rights, and international drug control.

The transfer of extrabudgetary posts to the regular budget was a matter of special concern in the Committee's review of general resources issues. The Committee concluded that, when considering proposals of the Secretary General to transfer to the regular UN budget activities carried out by means of extrabudgetary resources, ECOSOC and the General Assembly should consider whether it was justifiable to carry out these programs within the framework of the regular budget. In considering such questions, the CPC suggested that legislative organs "keep in mind the medium-term plan and the relative growth rate approved by the General Assembly for the program in question."

In the area of coordination, the Committee concluded that the ACC should clarify the obstacles and costs involved in the further harmonization of the program budgets and medium-term plans of the various UN system organizations, as well as the advantages to be derived therefrom and indicate ways in which further progress might be made. The Committee also agreed to the suggestion of the ACC that the results of prior consultations among agencies regarding related activities should be conveyed to the CPC on the 'program-sector-by-program-sector basis rather than an organization-by-organization basis."

The Committee also recommended that ECOSOC review the situation relating to international years and anniversaries against the background of its own previous resolutions on the subject, with a view to limiting the number of such events in order to focus attention and secure action on the most important issues.

Joint meetings between the CPC and the ACC were held in Geneva, July 5-7, to consider (1) ways of strengthening the contributions of organizations to the work of the CPC and ECOSOC and (2) development objectives of the UN system. The Joint meetings concluded that there was a wide measure of agreement between the CPC and the ACC on overall approaches to coordination and on the methods of work which would enable the two Committees to strengthen further their contribution to the coherence of the system. In particular, it was agreed to recommend that the existing procedures followed by ECOSOC and the CPC for the review of agency activities, including the existing arrangements for in-depth study by ECOSOC of selected agencies, should be discontinued in favor of in-depth reviews of the activities of the system in selected areas. Further, the two Committees concluded that the ACC's initiative in establishing a Task Force on Development Objectives deserved to be fully supported, provided that the respective prerogatives of intergovernmental bodies and secretariats were fully respected.

The 63rd session of ECOSOC endorsed the conclusions and recommendations of the CPC. It also agreed to inaugurate in-depth studies on the basis of the program-sector-by-program-sector approach to coordination and to discontinue the request for analytical summaries of the reports of the specialized agencies.

On December 21, the General Assembly adopted without vote, on the recommendation of its Fifth Committee, a resolution concerning the recommendations of the CPC. ^{15/} This resolution, *inter alia*: (1) confirmed the CPC's role as the main subsidiary body of ECOSOC and the General Assembly for planning, programming and coordination, with the perspective necessary to make recommendations on the relative priorities of the UN programs; (2) requested the Secretary General to implement "the relative growth rates accepted by the General Assembly as the framework of program priorities," in the light of the recommendations and comments of the CPC and in the most appropriate manner; (3) authorized the Secretary General to submit to the 33rd General Assembly program proposals for increased activity in the transport programs of ECA, ECLA, ECWA, and ESCAP, and revised estimates to that end, in the light of the recommendations of the CPC and of a related report of the ACABQ; ^{16/} and (4) decided to defer until the 33rd session consideration of various CPC recommendations dealing with program transfers and reductions.

^{15/} Resolution 32/206.

^{16/} The Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions is an expert body of 13 members appointed by the General Assembly for 3-year terms. David L. Stottlemeyer of the United States is a member.

Joint Inspection Unit

The General Assembly, at its 31st session in 1976, adopted a resolution 17/approving for the JIU a new statute, effective January 1, 1978, which establishes the Unit as a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly and of the legislative bodies of the specialized agencies which accept the statute. The General Assembly invited the organizations within the UN system "to notify the Secretary General of the acceptance of the present statute as soon as possible and to take appropriate action for the use of the services of the Joint Inspection Unit." During the course of 1977, FAO, ICAO, ILO, IMCO, UPU, and WHO took action to approve the new statute, though with some reservations and statements of interpretation.

One change in the new statute was to increase the number of Inspectors from 8 to 11. The statute also determined that the Inspectors were to be appointed by the General Assembly (instead of by the Secretary General as before) for 5-year terms, renewable for one additional term. The new procedures were designed to ensure the appointment of qualified Inspectors, equitable geographic distribution, and reasonable rotation and continuity.

In compliance with the new statute, the President of the 32nd General Assembly held consultations with the chairmen of the regional groups and it was agreed that the 11 seats would be allocated as follows: 2 for African states, 2 for Asian states, 2 for Eastern European states; 2 for Latin American states and 3 for Western European and other states. Reflecting further consultations, the General Assembly on December 14 appointed without a vote 11 members of the JIU for terms beginning January 1, 1978. As a result of the drawing of lots by the President of the Assembly, the members were appointed for the following terms: (1) for a full 5-year term: Mark Allen (U.K.), Alexander S. Bryntsev (U.S.S.R.), Sharif Padmadisastra (Indonesia), Julio C.A.R. Rodriguez Arias (Argentina), Joseph Adolph Sawe (Tanzania), and Zakaria Sibahi (Syria); (2) for a 3-year term: Isaacs Newton Kofi Atiase (Ghana), Maurice Bertrand (France), Alfred Nathaniel Forde (Barbados), Sreten Ilic (Yugoslavia), and Earl D. Sohm (U.S.).

A report prepared by the JIU for the 32nd General Assembly listed the following eight reports issued by the Unit between July 1976 and June 1977 on: (1) the utilization of office accommodation at IMCO headquarters (2) the implementation of the personnel policy reform approved by the General Assembly in 1974 (3) technical cooperation provided by the UN system to the regional and subregional integration and cooperation movements in Asia and the Pacific (4) country programming as an instrument for coordination and cooperation at the country level (5) evaluation in the UN system (6) technical cooperation provided by the UN system to regional and subregional integration and cooperation movements in Africa and Western Asia (7) first class travel paid by the UN organizations and (8) General Service staff of the United Nations and Geneva based specialized agencies.

Among the reports of special interest to the United States were those on evaluation and first class travel. As indicated above, the "Report on Evaluation in the United Nations System" prepared by Inspector Sohm was favorably considered at the 17th session of the CPC. It also was considered June 22-23 at an informal meeting on evaluation, organized by the JIU and attended by representatives of various UN system organizations and programs. The purpose of this meeting was to develop a common understanding and approach to internal evaluation in relation to the JIU's new responsibilities for external evaluation. The "Report on First Class Travel Paid by UN Organizations" recommended a stringent limiting of those entitled to first class travel by air. The report indicated that adoption of this recommendation would result in annual savings of almost \$800,000 to the 11 UN organizations on whom the study was based.

Following a discussion of this report in the Fifth Committee, the United States on December 17 introduced a draft resolution, sponsored by seven states, that took note of the JIU report and decided that as a general rule first class travel should be restricted to the Secretary General and one representative of each member state attending a General Assembly session, and that other persons previously entitled to first class travel should use it only when the duration of a particular flight, including scheduled stops for such purposes as change of planes or refuelling, exceeded 9 hours. The Secretary General was authorized to make exceptions on a case-by-case basis "in the most exigent circumstances" and was requested to report annually on the implementation of the resolution.

The draft resolution was approved by the Fifth Committee on December 19 by a recorded vote of 64 (U.S.) to 12, with 26 abstentions, and adopted by the plenary Assembly on December 21 by a recorded vote of 98 (U.S.) to 7, with 30 abstentions.18/

UN RESTRUCTURING: ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SECTORS

In its closing days, the 32nd General Assembly without vote endorsed the conclusions and recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System and called for steps toward their implementation. This brought to a successful conclusion a major 2-year exercise concerned with "initiating the process of restructuring the United Nations system so as to make it more fully capable of dealing with problems of international economic cooperation and development in a comprehensive and effective manner . . . and to make it more responsive to the requirements of the provisions of the Declaration and the Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order as well as those of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States." The Ad Hoc Committee had been established by the General Assembly in the final section of the resolution on development and international economic cooperation it adopted on September 16, 1975, at its seventh special session.

18/ Resolution 32/198.

The Ad Hoc Committee held its organizational session at UN Headquarters in November 1975, choosing Kenneth K. S. Dadzie of Ghana to be Chairman. During 1976 it held three more formal sessions. The Committee conducted most of its more meaningful consultations in the context of an informal open-ended "contact group" which gave careful consideration to a consolidated text prepared by the Chairman in an effort to bring together all the proposals made and views expressed by delegations regarding eight agreed problem areas: (1) the General Assembly; (2) ECOSOC; (3) other UN forums for negotiations, including UNCTAD and other UN organs and programs, the specialized agencies, the IAEA, and ad hoc world conferences; (4) structures for regional and interregional cooperation; (5) operational activities of the UN system; (6) planning, programming, budgeting, and evaluation; (7) interagency coordination; and (8) Secretariat support services. The U.S. delegation was a major participant in this contact group.

Due to the complexity of its task and the pressure of other commitments, the Committee was unable to fulfill its mandate "to prepare detailed action proposals" for submission to the 31st Assembly, and the Committee's mandate was extended, with a view to the submission of its final recommendations through ECOSOC to the 32nd Assembly.

At its fifth session, held in New York from February 16 to March 4, 1977, the Committee agreed to continue the informal contact group meetings as necessary and to use as the basis for its work the informal consolidated text (and revisions of it) prepared by the Chairman. The sixth session of the Ad Hoc Committee was also held in New York, initially from May 2 to 20, and then resumed from September 20 to December 14.

In May the contact group encountered difficulties in reaching agreed solutions and it was decided that the Chairman should convene a small representative group of delegations, including the United States, which became known as the "Friends of the Chairman." This group met in New York in May, in Geneva concurrently with the 63rd session of ECOSOC, and subsequently again in New York.

At its resumed sixth session the Ad Hoc Committee reviewed the progress made during the informal consultations among the Friends of the Chairman. A comprehensive revision of the informal consolidated text was issued as a basis for delegations to consult among themselves and with their respective authorities. Intensive discussions of the revised informal consolidated text were held in the contact group of the Committee, including a November 9 meeting with the Under Secretary General for Administration and Management to consider some of the administrative and financial implications resulting from proposals in the text.

The Ad Hoc Committee on December 14 adopted without vote its final report to the General Assembly, including conclusions and recommendations on the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the UN system. The report included bracketed language reflecting an unresolved issue concerning the establishment of a high-level post to assist the Secretary General in carrying out his responsibilities in the economic and social fields. The same day, the report of the Ad Hoc Committee was referred to the resumed

session of ECOSOC, which took note of it and transmitted it to the General Assembly.

The Assembly's Second Committee considered the report on December 16 and, through informal consultations, resolved the remaining issue by amending the report to read "the General Assembly should invite the Secretary General to appoint, in full consultation with member states, a Director General for Development and International Economic Cooperation, at a high level" to assist the Secretary General in carrying out his responsibilities under the Charter in the economic and social fields. The agreed amendment went on to indicate the general responsibilities of the Director General. The same day, the Second Committee approved a draft resolution endorsing the conclusions and recommendations of the Ad Hoc Committee, as amended. The General Assembly without vote adopted the resolution in plenary session on December 20. 19/

The formal expression of U.S. views regarding the recommendations for restructuring were made by James Baker at the closing meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on December 14 and were included in an annex to the final report. Noting that the text approved by the Committee represented a compromise and thus probably was not totally satisfactory to any delegation, the U.S. Representative affirmed that the final product was a constructive contribution and did provide an opportunity for progress in many areas. In particular, the United States noted that the text contained provisions for (1) a strengthened ECOSOC that could serve as a central forum for the discussion of international economic and social issues; (2) a comprehensive review of all operational activities of the UN system, which would be of great benefit in assisting member governments to understand the overall effort of the UN system in the area of economic and social development and to improve its effectiveness; (3) increased efficiency and effectiveness in UN operational activities; (4) improvements in planning, programming, budgeting, and evaluation procedures and a reaffirmation of the vital role of the Committee for Program and Coordination; and (5) significant proposals for the reorganization of the UN Secretariat.

The United States also indicated its understandings and reservations regarding certain sections of the text. These concerned primarily the U.S. understanding that the provisions in the text do not go beyond the authority vested in the General Assembly under the Charter; i.e., the "policy-making" role of the General Assembly is only recommendatory regarding forums and bodies other than those subsidiary to it.

The U.S. statement concluded by noting that the approval of the text was not an end but the beginning of a process, and that the UN member states must continue their collective efforts to translate the broad principles into practical measures in order for the United Nations to realize its full potential "to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character."

UN ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

PATTERN OF CONFERENCES

The 29th General Assembly in 1974 established the Committee on Conferences 20/ to act for it between sessions on requested departures from the approved calendar of conferences, to make recommendations on improving the pattern of conferences and conference servicing, and to develop for approval by the Assembly an annual calendar of conferences.

The Committee, which is in permanent session, met 25 times between January 13 and September 28, 1977, and took action on a number of requests for departures from the approved calendar for 1977. The Committee submitted to the General Assembly a draft resolution designed to improve the efficient use of conference resources by reducing the cancellation and postponement of meetings. The draft resolution included (1) provisions to control the amount of documentation by restricting the number of bodies provided with meeting records and by limiting the number of versions of meeting records; (2) provisions to keep to a minimum intersessional departures from the approved calendar; and (3) guidelines for reducing the wastage resulting from cancellation of scheduled meetings.

After making minor amendments, the Fifth Committee approved the draft resolution by consensus on November 2, and the Assembly subsequently adopted it, also by consensus, on December 9. 21/

The Committee on Conferences was originally scheduled to terminate at the end of 1977. On November 2 Bangladesh introduced a draft resolution sponsored by 15 states, including the United States, that would retain the Committee, "subject to review of its terms of reference as required," and strengthen its mandate. The resolution further requested the Assembly's subsidiary bodies "to seek the advice of the Committee on Conferences with regard to the scheduling of their regular meetings and with regard to any proposed changes in their established pattern of sessions." The Fifth Committee approved the draft resolution on November 23 and the Assembly adopted it on December 9, 22/ both by consensus. On December 23 the President of the Assembly, after consultations with the chairmen of the regional groups, appointed Algeria, Austria, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Honduras, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Mexico, New Zealand, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Tunisia, U.S.S.R.,

20/ During the years 1975-77 the 22-member Committee consisted of Algeria, Austria, Bangladesh, Belgium, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Egypt, France, India, Kenya, Mongolia, Nigeria, Peru, Philippines, Romania, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States and Yugoslavia.

21/ Resolution 32/71.

22/ Resolution 32/72.

United Kingdom, United States, and Yugoslavia to membership on the Committee for the years 1978-80.

During the Fifth Committee's discussion, from October 20 to November 1, of the regular budget section for conference and library services, William J. Cunningham, speaking for the United States, noted that the proposed budgetary provision for conferences increased some \$17 million over the 1976-77 level of \$125 million, and that in general the expenditure increases were higher than increases in activity levels. He expressed the U.S. concern at the increase in the number, frequency, duration, and rapidly escalating cost of UN meetings and referred to the lack of coordination within the UN system, the inefficient purchasing procedures, and the failure to develop a cost-effective modernization plan. Calling for stronger measures to bring conference expenditures under control, the U.S. Representative proposed that the General Assembly provide only 95%, i.e., \$135,017,000, of the amount requested. The proposal was not accepted by the Fifth Committee, but the Committee on Conferences was requested to study the problem of conference management and report to the 33rd General Assembly.

UN ACCOMMODATIONS

The Secretary General proposed that the General Assembly approve the construction of a permanent headquarters building for UNEP at Gigiri, Nairobi, on a 100-acre plot of land granted to the United Nations by the Government of Kenya. The construction schedule calls for construction to begin in April 1979 and take 3 years with the building being ready for occupancy by July 1, 1982.

The plans, which the United States considered lavish by normal standards, are based on a comprehensive architectural and engineering study of the site which was authorized by the 30th General Assembly. They embody the following features: (1) application of environmental concepts to the design, construction, and maintenance of the facilities, and to the development of the site; (2) provision of extensive office accommodation for the UNEP secretariat and also for the staff of the specialized agencies and other offices at Nairobi, together with conference servicing facilities, common services, and support facilities; and (3) incorporation of the existing temporary premises at Gigiri, which were built in 1975, into the permanent headquarters facilities.

The facilities will have a total net space of 287,644 square feet of which 197,496 square feet will be in the new buildings.

In discussing this matter in the Fifth Committee, the United States expressed the opinion that the ACABQ examination of the Secretary General's proposal was a "rehash of the Secretary General's report" and did not reflect the Advisory Committee's customary thoroughness. The U.S. Delegation deplored the Advisory Committee's failure to analyze the estimates of the cost of the project, to examine the need for this new construction, to discuss alternatives to erecting the project and to question the appropriateness of UNEP undertaking building construction and management operations. The U.S. Delegation noted the generosity of the Government of Kenya in providing land for the construction but noted that the Advisory

Committee had not explored methods of financing the project alternative to a regular budget appropriation. Initially the United States proposed that the Fifth Committee return the report to the Advisory Committee for review and resubmission to the 33rd session of the General Assembly. When draft resolution A/C.5/32/L.25, proposing adoption of the report of the Advisory Committee, was tabled, the United States requested a separate vote on operative paragraph 3 of the draft resolution, which specifically endorsed the findings of the Advisory Committee. This paragraph was approved by a vote of 97 to 10 (U.S.), with 0 abstentions.

On December 6, by a vote of 98 to 9, with 1 abstention (U.S.), the Fifth Committee approved a draft resolution that approved the construction project and authorized the Secretary General to proceed in accordance with the recommendations contained in his report. The estimated total cost of \$24,233,500 is to be funded by the United Nations and spread over three biennial budgets: (1) \$4,801,000 in 1978-79, (2) \$14,605,000 in 1980-81, and (3) \$4,827,500 in 1982-83.

The General Assembly in plenary session adopted the resolution on December 21 by a recorded vote of 122 to 9, with 2 abstentions (U.S.). 23/

INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

The 15-member International Civil Service Commission,24/ established by the 29th General Assembly in 1974, submitted to the 32nd General Assembly its third annual report covering Commission activities during 1977. The Commission held two sessions in 1977; its fifth at the United Nations Headquarters at New York from February 22 to March 11; and its sixth at the Headquarters of the International Atomic Energy Agency at Vienna, from August 16 to September 2.

The Commission reported that it had given priority attention to salary matters with most of its time and resources spent in complying with the 31st General Assembly's request that it conduct a survey of local employment conditions in Geneva. A working party composed of the Chairman, Vice Chairman, and four members of the Commission met at Geneva from May 16 to 20 in connection with this survey.

On the basis of the material collected during the Geneva survey, the Commission drew up and recommended a new General Service salary scale appropriate for Geneva. The resulting salary scale represents an average reduction of 17% compared with the salary scale it replaces. Having examined the history of the method employed in determining General Service salaries at Geneva in the past 25 years, the Commission concluded that the excessive level of the salaries could be attributed to two factors--the initial fixing of salaries at levels too high in relation to local conditions, and the regular application

23/ Resolution 32/208.

24/ Members, who serve in their personal capacities, are appointed by the General Assembly for 4-year terms. Robert E. Hampton of the United States was a member in 1977.

of across-the-board percentage increases to those relatively high levels. The Secretary General accepted the Commission recommendation and ordered that, as from January 1, 1978, all United Nations General Service staff in Geneva be placed on the reduced salary scale. To protect the attained levels of pensionable remuneration for existing staff, the Secretary General concurrently initiated a transitional allowance representing the exact amount each staff member would have received under the old scale as against the reduced scale. Annual step increments after January 1, 1978, could be based on the reduced scale. The transitional allowance would gradually phase out as increases to the new scale, resulting from cost of living increases or other factors, trigger corresponding decreases in the transitional allowance.

The Commission also recommended that as from July 1, 1978, that the UN post adjustment system be revised to provide that changes in class of post adjustment be based on index movements of 5% in relation to the preceding class rather than on movements of 5 points as was the practice. The main criticism of the "five point" system was that the higher the post adjustment the smaller the movement in cost of living required to trigger a change in class. For example, at a class 1 post (index 105) a movement of 4.8% would be required to produce a change to class 2 (index 110). On the other hand, to trigger a change from class 15 (index 175) to class 16 (index 180), a movement of only 2.86% is required.

On December 21, 1977, the General Assembly adopted, on the recommendation of the Fifth Committee, by a vote of 125 (U.S.) to 9, a resolution 25/approving the 5% change to the post adjustment system and noting with appreciation the Secretary General's action in implementing the reduced General Service salary scale at Geneva. The resolution also invited the executive heads of all the other Geneva-based organizations to follow the same implementation procedure, subject to their respective constitutional requirements. The Commission was requested to undertake a new survey of local employment conditions in Geneva in 1979 so as to make its results available to the executive heads during 1980 and to inform the 35th General Assembly of the action taken in this regard.

Due to the amount of time consumed in dealing with the General Service salary issue, the Commission deferred, until 1978, consideration of a number of matters it had expected to deal with in 1977. During discussion of the Commission's report in the Fifth Committee, the United States circulated to delegations a communication outlining U.S. views on issues that were deferred, such as the level of salaries of senior UN officials; establishing grade matching points for senior officials of the United Nations and the United States Government; increasing children allowance grants; expanding university education grants; instituting education grants for handicapped children; eliminating automatic indexing of basic salaries in New York; introducing termination grants for fixed term appointees whose appointments are not renewed; and revising the formulae for computing General Service Category staff assessments.

On December 21, 1977, the General Assembly appointed six persons as members of the International Civil Service Commission. Ersa M. Poston, U.S. Civil Service Commissioner, was appointed for a 4-year term beginning January 1, 1978.

PERSONNEL QUESTIONS

The Fifth Committee of the 32nd General Assembly considered personnel questions at 9 meetings between September 28 and October 19, 1977, and recommended two resolutions dealing with the composition of the Secretariat which were subsequently adopted by the General Assembly.

The first resolution, 26/was sponsored by Ghana, India, Japan, Kenya, and Trinidad and Tobago. It urged the Secretary General to intensify his efforts for the effective implementation of past General Assembly resolutions on personnel questions, including the Assembly's call last year for steps to improve the geographical, sex, and age balance of the Secretariat.

The second resolution, 27/was sponsored by Barbados, the Bahamas, and Nigeria. It (1) called for greater efforts to appoint younger people to senior posts in the Secretariat; (2) recommended that the Secretary General draw the attention of the appointment and promotion bodies to the need to appoint and promote qualified women, particularly at the senior levels; and (3) welcomed the establishment of a panel to investigate allegations of discriminatory treatment.

Unfortunately, both resolutions made reference to a resolution adopted in 1976, on which the United States had abstained because, inter alia, it erroneously suggested that nationals from developing countries were under-represented in senior and policy making posts. It implied that the promotion system was no longer to be administered on the basis of merit; and it increased the desirable range for employment for member states paying the minimum assessment in the apportionment of UN expenses from 1 to 6 positions to 2 to 7 positions. Thus, while the United States supports the provisions of 32/17 A and B dealing with youth and women, the references to the earlier resolution required that it disassociate itself from the consensus on 32/17 A and B in both the Fifth Committee and in Plenary. The Assembly adopted both resolutions on November 11, 1977.

EMPLOYMENT OF AMERICANS

The total number of professional employees in the United Nations, and the specialized agencies of which the United States is a member, was 6,265 at the end of 1977. At the end of 1976, excluding the ILO, the number was 6,276. The number of U.S. nationals was 928 (14.78%) in 1976 and 914 (14.59%) in 1977.

26/ Resolution 32/17 A.

27/ Resolution 32/17 B.

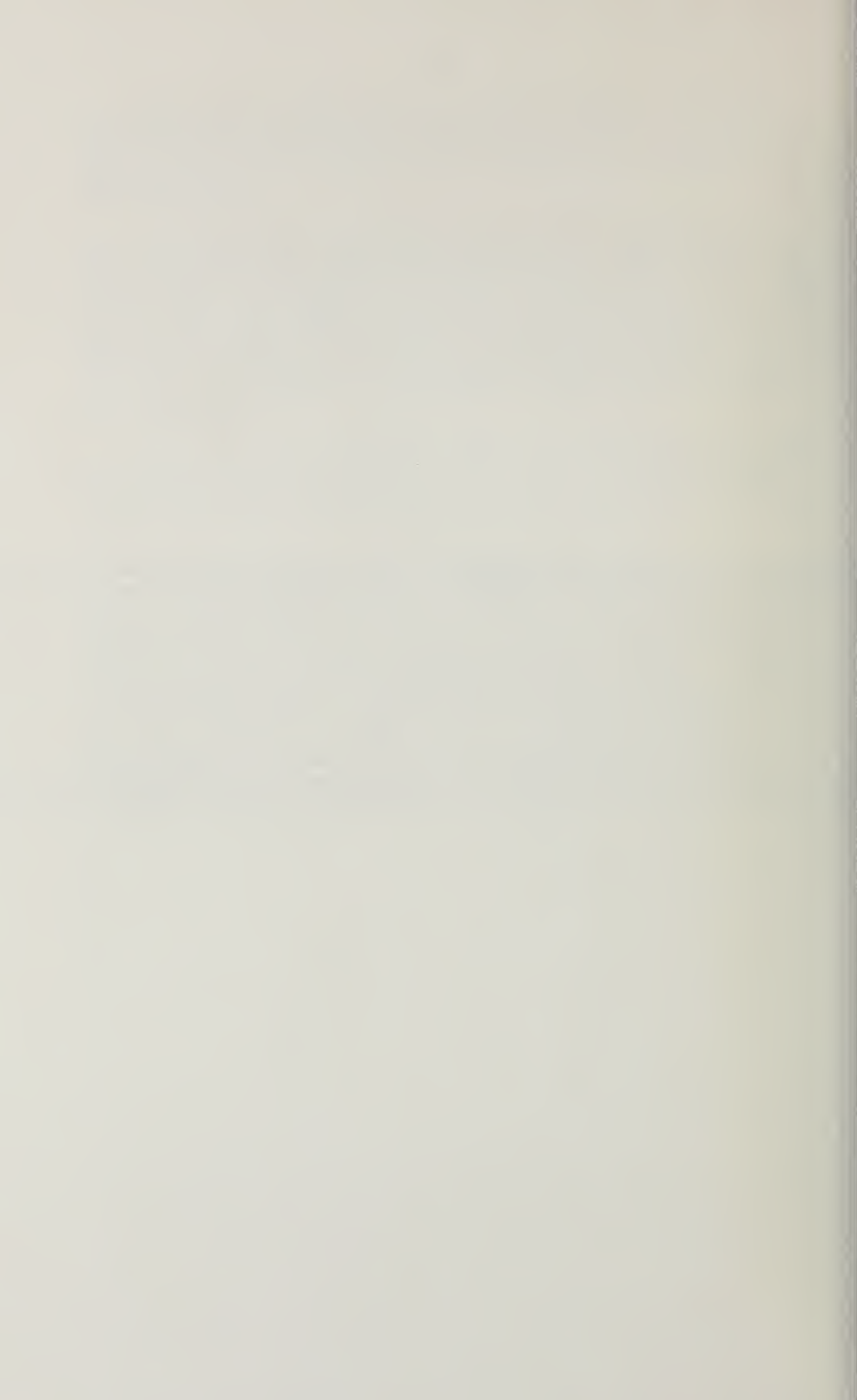
During this period, the number and percentage of Americans in the UN Secretariat decreased from 515 (19.45%) to 503 (19.17%). Of the latter figure, 151 were women--32.61% of the total of 463 women professionals in posts subject to geographic distribution in the Secretariat.

In the specialized agencies, the percentage of American professionals increased in the ITU, WIPO, WMO, and IAEA; remained the same in IMCO; and declined in FAO, ICAO, UNESCO, UPU, and WHO. For the most part, the changes were minimal, representing a gain or loss of less than a percentage point, or in the case of the smaller agencies, the gain or loss of one or two American employees. The most striking change in the larger agencies was in the IAEA where the number and percentage of Americans increased from 65 (18.16%) to 77 (19.35%).

The number of UNDP-financed experts employed by the UN and the other agencies increased from 3,956 at the end of 1976 to 6,010 at the end of 1977. During the same period, the number of American experts increased from 350 (8.85%) to 539 (8.96%).

With respect to Americans in senior posts, John E. Fobes retired as Deputy Director General of UNESCO. In FAO, Roy I. Jackson retired from the Deputy Director General post, and was replaced by Ralph Phillips. Peter Skoufis was appointed by FAO as Assistant Director General for Administration and Finance. Thomas Robinson retired as Executive Director of the World Food Program. In the UN Secretariat, Robert J. Ryan retired as Assistant Secretary General for General Services, and was succeeded by his Deputy, Clayton C. Timbrell. In UNEP, Richard B. Stedman retired as Deputy Executive Director and was replaced by Peter S. Thacher. In UNRWA, Thomas W. McElhiney moved up from Deputy Commissioner General to Commissioner General.

APPENDIXES



APPENDIX I: ADDRESSES BY PRESIDENT CARTER TO REPRESENTATIVES TO THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY HALL ON MARCH 17 AND BEFORE THE 32ND REGULAR SESSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

**Peace, Arms Control, World Economic Progress, Human Rights:
Basic Priorities of U.S. Foreign Policy**

Address by President Carter¹

Last night I was in Clinton, Massachusetts, at a town hall meeting where people of that small town decide their political and economic future.

Tonight I speak to a similar meeting where people representing nations all over the world come here to decide their political and economic future.

I am proud to be with you tonight in this house where the shared hopes of the world can find a voice.

I have come here to express my own support, and the continuing support of my country, for the ideals of the United Nations.

We are proud that for the 32 years since its creation, the United Nations has met on American soil. And we share with you the commitments of freedom, self-government, human dignity, mutual toleration, and the peaceful resolution of disputes—which the founding principles of the United Nations and also Secretary General Kurt Waldheim so well represent.

No one nation by itself can build a world which reflects all these fine values. But the United States, my own country, has a reservoir of strength: economic strength, which we are willing to share; military strength, which we hope never to use again; and the strength of ideals, which are determined fully to maintain the backbone of our own foreign policy.

It is now eight weeks since I became President. I have brought to office a firm commitment to a more open foreign policy. And I believe that the American people expect me to speak frankly about the policies that we intend to pursue, and it is in that spirit that I speak to you tonight about our own hopes for the future.

I see a hopeful world, a world dominated by increasing demands for basic freedoms, for fundamental rights, for higher standards of human existence. We are eager to take part in the shaping of that world.

But in seeking such a better world, we are not blind to the reality of disagreement nor to the persisting dangers that confront us all. Every headline reminds us of bitter divisions, of national hostilities, of territorial conflicts, of ideological competition. In the Middle East, peace is a quarter of a century overdue. A gathering racial conflict threatens southern Africa; new tensions are rising in the Horn of

Africa. Disputes in the eastern Mediterranean remain to be resolved.

Perhaps even more ominous is the staggering arms race. The Soviet Union and the United States have accumulated thousands of nuclear weapons. Our two nations now have five times more missile warheads today than we had just eight years ago. But we are not five times more secure. On the contrary, the arms race has only increased the risk of conflict.

We can only improve this world if we are realistic about its complexities. The disagreements that we face are deeply rooted, and they often raise difficult philosophical as well as territorial issues. They will not be solved easily. They will not be solved quickly. The arms race is now embedded in the very fabric of international affairs and can only be contained with the greatest difficulty. Poverty and inequality are of such monumental scope that it will take decades of deliberate and determined effort even to improve the situation substantially.

I stress these dangers and these difficulties because I want all of us to dedicate ourselves to a prolonged and persistent effort designed:

—First, to maintain peace and to reduce the arms race;

—Second, to build a better and a more cooperative international economic system; and

—Third, to work with potential adversaries as well as our close friends to advance the cause of human rights.

Working To Advance the Cause of Peace

In seeking these goals, I realize that the United States cannot solve the problems of the world. We can sometimes help others resolve their differences, but we cannot do so by imposing our own particular solutions.

In the coming months, there is important work for all of us in advancing international cooperation and economic progress in the cause of peace:

—Later this spring, the leaders of several industrial nations of Europe, North America, and Japan will confer at a summit meeting in London on a broad range of issues. We must promote the health of the industrial economies. We must seek to restrain inflation and bring ways of managing our own domestic economies for the benefit of the global economy.

¹ Made to representatives to the United Nations in the U.N. General Assembly Hall on Mar. 17.

—We must move forward with multilateral trade negotiations in Geneva.

—The United States will support the efforts of our friends to strengthen the democratic institutions in Europe, and particularly in Portugal and Spain.

—We will work closely with our European friends on the forthcoming Review Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We want to make certain that the provisions of the Helsinki agreement are fully implemented and that progress is made to further East-West cooperation.

—In the Middle East we are doing our best to clarify areas of disagreement, to surface underlying consensus, and to help to develop mutually acceptable principles that can form a flexible framework for a just and a permanent settlement.

—In southern Africa, we will work to help attain majority rule through peaceful means. We believe that such fundamental transformation can be achieved, to the advantage of both the blacks and whites who live in that region of the world. Anything less than that may bring a protracted racial war, with devastating consequences to all. This week the Government of the United States took action to bring our country into full compliance with U.N. sanctions against the illegal regime in Rhodesia. And I will sign that bill Friday in Washington.

—We will put our relations with Latin America on a more constructive footing, recognizing the global character of the region's problems. We are also working to resolve in amicable negotiations the future of the Panama Canal.

—We will continue our efforts to develop further our relationships with the People's Republic of China. We recognize our parallel strategic interests in maintaining stability in Asia, and we will act in the spirit of the Shanghai communique.

—In Southeast Asia and in the Pacific, we will strengthen our association with our traditional friends, and we will seek to improve relations with our former adversaries. We have a mission now in Vietnam seeking peaceful resolution of the differences that have separated us for so long.

—Throughout the world, we are ready to normalize our relationships and to seek reconciliation with all states which are ready to work with us in promoting global progress and global peace.

Containing the Global Arms Race

Above all, the search for peace requires a much more deliberate effort to contain the global arms race. Let me speak in this context first of the U.S.-Soviet Union relationship and then of the wider need to contain the proliferation of arms throughout the global community.

I intend to pursue the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) between the United

States and the Soviet Union with determination and with energy.

Our Secretary of State will visit Moscow in just a few days.

SALT is extraordinarily complicated. But the basic fact is that while the negotiations remain deadlocked the arms race goes on; the security of both countries and the entire world is threatened.

My preference would be for strict controls or even a freeze on new types and new generations of weaponry and with a deep reduction in the strategic arms of both sides. Such a major step toward not only arms limitation but arms reduction would be welcomed by mankind as a giant step toward peace.

Alternatively, and perhaps much more easily, we could conclude a limited agreement based on those elements of the Vladivostok accord on which we can find complete consensus and set aside for prompt consideration and subsequent negotiations the more contentious issues and also the deeper reductions in nuclear weapons which I favor.

We will also explore the possibility of a total cessation of nuclear testing. While our ultimate goal is for all nuclear powers to end testing, we do not regard this as a prerequisite for the suspension of tests by the two principal nuclear powers, the Soviet Union and the United States. We should, however, also pursue a broad permanent multilateral agreement on this issue.

We will also seek to establish Soviet willingness to reach agreement with us on mutual military restraint in the Indian Ocean, as well as on such matters as arms exports to the troubled areas of the world.

In proposing such accommodations I remain fully aware that American-Soviet relations will continue to be highly competitive—but I believe that our competition must be balanced by cooperation in preserving peace and thus our mutual survival. I will seek such cooperation with the Soviet Union earnestly, constantly, and sincerely.

However, the effort to contain the arms race is not a matter just for the United States and Soviet Union alone. There must be a wider effort to reduce the flow of weapons to all the troubled spots of this globe. Accordingly, we will try to reach broader agreements among producer and consumer nations to limit the export of conventional arms, and we ourselves will take the initiative on our own because the United States has become one of the major arms suppliers of the world.

We are deeply committed to halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons. And we will undertake a new effort to reach multilateral agreements designed to provide legitimate supplies of nuclear fuels for the production of energy while controlling the poisonous and dangerous atomic wastes.

Working with other nations represented here, we hope to advance the cause of peace. We will make a strong and a positive contribution at the upcoming special session on dis

armament, which I understand will commence next year.

Molding Global Economic Prosperity

But the search for peace also means the search for justice. One of the greatest challenges before us as a nation, and therefore one of our greatest opportunities, is to participate in molding a global economic system which will bring greater prosperity to all the people of all countries.

I come from a part of the United States which is largely agrarian and which for many years did not have the advantages of adequate transportation or capital or management skills or education—which were available in the industrial states of our country. So I can sympathize with the leaders of the developing nations, and I want them to know that we will do our part.

To this end, the United States will be advancing proposals aimed at meeting the basic human needs of the developing world and helping them to increase their productive capacity. I have asked Congress to provide \$7½ billion of foreign assistance in the coming year, and I will work to insure sustained American assistance as the process of global economic development continues. I am also urging the Congress of our country to increase our contributions to the United Nations Development Program and meet in full our pledges to multilateral lending institutions, especially the International Development Association of the World Bank.

We remain committed to an open international trading system, one which does not ignore domestic concerns in the United States. We have extended duty-free treatment to many products from the developing countries. In the multilateral trade agreements [negotiations] in Geneva we have offered substantial trade concessions on the goods of primary interest to developing countries. And in accordance with the Tokyo Declaration, we are also examining ways to provide additional consideration for the special needs of developing countries.

The United States is willing to consider with a positive and open attitude the negotiation on agreements to stabilize commodity prices, including the establishment of a common funding arrangement for financing buffer stocks where they are a part of individual negotiated agreements.

I also believe that the developing countries must acquire fuller participation in the global economic decisionmaking process. Some progress has been already made in this regard by expanding participation of developing countries in the International Monetary Fund.

We must use our collective natural resources wisely and constructively. We have not always done so. Today our oceans are being plundered and defiled. With a renewed spirit of cooperation and hope we join in the conference of the law of the sea in order to

correct past mistakes of generations gone by and to insure that all nations can share the bounties of the eternal oceans in the future.

We must also recognize that the world is facing serious shortages of energy. This is truly a global problem. For our part, we are determined to reduce waste and to work with others toward a fair and proper sharing of the benefits and costs of energy resources.

Respect for Basic Human Rights

The search for peace and justice also means respect for human dignity. All the signatories of the United Nations Charter have pledged themselves to observe and to respect basic human rights. Thus, no member of the United Nations can claim that mistreatment of its citizens is solely its own business. Equally, no member can avoid its responsibilities to review and to speak when torture or unwarranted deprivation occurs in any part of the world.

The basic thrust of human affairs points toward a more universal demand for fundamental human rights. The United States has a historical birthright to be associated with this process.

We in the United States accept this responsibility in the fullest and the most constructive sense. Ours is a commitment, and not just a political posture. I know perhaps as well as anyone that our own ideals in the area of human rights have not always been attained in the United States. But the American people have an abiding commitment to the full realization of these ideals. And we are determined, therefore, to deal with our deficiencies quickly and openly. We have nothing to conceal.

To demonstrate this commitment, I will seek congressional approval and sign the U.N. covenants on economic, social, and cultural rights and the covenants on civil and political rights. And I will work closely with our own Congress in seeking to support the ratification not only of these two instruments but the United Nations Genocide Convention and the Treaty for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination as well. I have just removed all restrictions on American travel abroad, and we are moving now to liberalize almost completely travel opportunities to America.

The United Nations is a global forum dedicated to the peace and well-being of every individual—no matter how weak, no matter how poor. But we have allowed its human rights machinery to be ignored and sometimes politicized. There is much that can be done to strengthen it.

The Human Rights Commission should be prepared to meet more often. And all nations should be prepared to offer its fullest cooperation to the Human Rights Commission, to welcome its investigations, to work with its officials, and to act on its reports.

I would like to see the entire United Nations Human Rights Division moved back here to the central headquarters, where its activities will be in the forefront of our attention and where the attention of the press corps can stimulate us to deal honestly with this sensitive issue. The proposal made 12 years ago by the Government of Costa Rica—to establish a U.N. High Commission[er] for Human Rights—also deserves our renewed attention and our support.

Strengthened international machinery will help us to close the gap between promise and performance in protecting human rights. When gross or widespread violation takes place—contrary to international commitments—it is of concern to all. The solemn commitments of the United Nations Charter, of the United Nations Universal Declaration for Human Rights, of the Helsinki accords, and of many other international instruments must be taken just as seriously as commercial or security agreements.

This issue is important in itself. It should not block progress on other important matters affecting the security and well-being of our people and of world peace. It is obvious that the reduction of tension, the control of nuclear

arms, the achievement of harmony in the troubled areas of the world, and the provision of food, good health, and education will independently contribute to advancing the human condition.

In our relationships with other countries, these mutual concerns will be reflected in our political, our cultural, and our economic attitudes.

These, then, are our basic priorities as we work with other members to strengthen and to improve the United Nations:

—First, we will strive for peace in the troubled areas of the world;

—Second, we will aggressively seek to control the weaponry of war;

—Third, we will promote a new system of international economic progress and cooperation; and

—Fourth, we will be steadfast in our dedication to the dignity and well-being of people throughout the world.

I believe that this is a foreign policy that is consistent with my own nation's historic values and commitments. And I believe that it is a foreign policy that is consonant with the ideals of the United Nations.

U.S. Role in a Peaceful Global Community

Address by President Carter¹

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, assembled delegates, and distinguished guests:

Mr. President, I wish to offer first my congratulations on your election as President of the 32d General Assembly. It gives my own government particular satisfaction to work under the leadership of a representative from Yugoslavia, a nation with which the United States enjoys close and valued relations. We pledge our cooperation and will depend heavily on your experience and skill in guiding these discussions, which we are beginning.

Mr. President, I would also like to express again the high esteem in which we hold Secretary General Waldheim. We continue to benefit greatly from our close consultations with him, and we place great trust in his leadership of this organization.

Thirty-two years ago, in the cold dawn of the atomic age, this organization came into being. Its first and its most urgent purpose has been to secure peace for an exhausted and ravaged world.

Present conditions in some respects appear quite hopeful, yet the assurance of peace continues to elude us. Before the end of this century, a score of nations could possess nuclear weapons. If this should happen, the world that we leave our children will mock our own hopes for peace.

—The level of nuclear armaments could grow by tens of thousands, and the same situation could well occur with advanced conventional weapons. The temptation to use these weapons, for fear that someone else might do it first, would be almost irresistible.

—The ever-growing trade in conventional arms subverts international commerce from a force for peace to a caterer for war.

—Violence, terrorism, assassination, undeclared wars all threaten to destroy the restraint and the moderation that must become the dominant characteristic of our age.

Unless we establish a code of international behavior in which the resort to violence becomes increasingly irrelevant to the pursuit of national interests, we will crush the world's dreams for human development and the full flowering of human freedom.

We have already become a global community—but only in the sense that we face common problems and we share, for good or evil, a common future. In this community, power to solve the world's problems—particularly economic and political power—no longer lies solely in the hands of a few nations. Power is now widely shared among many na-

tions with different cultures and different histories and different aspirations. The question is whether we will allow our differences to defeat us or whether we will work together to realize our common hopes for peace.

Today I want to address the major dimensions of peace and the role the United States intends to play in limiting and reducing all armaments, controlling nuclear technology, restricting the arms trade, and settling disputes by peaceful means.

Control of Nuclear Arms

When atomic weapons were used for the first time, Winston Churchill described the power of the atom as a revelation long mercifully withheld from man. Since then we have learned, in Durrenmatt's chilling words, that "what has once been thought can never be un-thought."

If we are to have any assurance that our children are to live out their lives in a world which satisfies our hope—or that they will have a chance to live at all—we must finally come to terms with this enormous nuclear force and turn it exclusively to beneficial ends.

Peace will not be assured until the weapons of war are finally put away. While we work toward that goal, nations will want sufficient arms to preserve their security. The U.S. purpose is to insure peace. It is for that reason that our military posture and our alliances will remain as strong as necessary to deter attack.

However, the security of the global community cannot forever rest on a balance of terror. In the past, war has been accepted as the ultimate arbiter of disputes among nations. But in the nuclear era, we can no longer think of war as merely a continuation of diplomacy by other means. Nuclear war cannot be measured by the archaic standards of "victory" or "defeat." This stark reality imposes on the United States and the Soviet Union an awesome and special responsibility.

The United States is engaged, along with other nations, in a broad range of negotiations. In Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), we and the Soviets are within sight of a significant agreement in limiting the total numbers of weapons and in restricting certain categories of weapons of special concern to each of us. We can also start the critical process of curbing the relentless march of technological development which makes nuclear weapons ever more difficult to control.

We must look beyond the present and work to prevent the critical threats and instabilities of the future. In the principles of self-

¹Made before the 32d U.N. General Assembly on Oct. 4, 1977.

restraint, reciprocity, and mutual accommodation of interests—if these are observed, then the United States and the Soviet Union will not only succeed in limiting weapons but will also create a foundation of better relations in other spheres of interest.

The United States is willing to go as far as possible, consistent with our security interests, in limiting and reducing our nuclear weapons. On a reciprocal basis we are willing now to reduce them by 10 percent or 20 percent, even 50 percent. Then we will work for further reductions to a world truly free of nuclear weapons.

The United States also recognizes a threat of continued testing of nuclear explosives. Negotiations for a comprehensive ban on nuclear explosions are now being conducted by the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union. As in other areas where vital national security interests are engaged, agreements must be verifiable and fair. They must be seen by all the parties as serving a longer term interest that justifies the restraints of the moment.

The longer term interest in this instance is to close one more avenue of nuclear competition and thereby demonstrate to all the world that the major nuclear powers take seriously our obligations to reduce the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

My country believes that the time has come to end all explosions of nuclear devices, no matter what their claimed justification—peaceful or military—and we appreciate the efforts of other nations to reach this same goal.

During the past 9 months I have expressed the special importance that we attach to controlling nuclear proliferation. But I fear that many do not understand why the United States feels as it does. Why is it so important to avoid the chance that one or two or ten other nations might acquire one or two or ten nuclear weapons of their own? Let me try to explain why I deeply believe that this is one of the greatest challenges that we face in the next quarter of a century.

It's a truism that nuclear weapons are a powerful deterrent. They are a deterrent because they threaten. They could be used for terrorism or blackmail, as well as for war. But they threaten not just the intended enemy; they threaten every nation—combatant or noncombatant alike. That is why all of us must be concerned.

Let me be frank. The existence of nuclear weapons in the United States and the Soviet Union, in Great Britain, France, and China is something that we cannot undo except by the painstaking process of negotiation. But the existence of these weapons does not mean that other nations need to develop their own weapons, any more than it provides a reason for those of us who have them to share them with others.

Rather it imposes two solemn obligations on the nations which have the capacity to export nuclear fuel and nuclear technology—the obligations to meet the legitimate energy needs

and, in doing so, to insure that nothing that we export contributes, directly or indirectly, to the production of nuclear explosives. That is why the supplier nations are seeking a common policy, and that is why the United States and the Soviet Union, even as we struggle to find common ground in the SALT talks, have already moved closer toward agreement and cooperation in our efforts to limit nuclear proliferation.

I believe that the London Suppliers Group must conclude its work as it's presently constituted so that world security will be safeguarded from the pressures of commercial competition. We have learned it is not enough to safeguard just some facilities or some materials; full scope comprehensive safeguards are necessary.

Two weeks from now, in our own country, more than 30 supplier and consuming nations will convene for the International Fuel Cycle Evaluation, which we proposed last spring. For the next several years experts will work together on every facet of the nuclear fuel cycle.

The scientists and the policymakers of these nations will face a tremendous challenge. We know that by the year 2000 nuclear power reactors could be producing enough plutonium to make tens of thousands of bombs every year. I believe, from my own personal knowledge of this issue, that there are ways to solve the problems that we face. I believe that there are alternative fuel cycles that can be managed safely on a global basis. I hope, therefore, that the International Fuel Cycle Evaluation will have the support and the encouragement of every nation.

I've heard it said that efforts to control nuclear proliferation are futile: that the genie is already out of the bottle. I do not believe this to be true. It should not be forgotten that for 25 years the nuclear club did not expand its membership. By genuine cooperation, we can make certain that this terrible club expands no further.

Conventional Arms

Now, I have talked about the special problems of nuclear arms control and nuclear proliferation at some length. Let me turn to the problem of conventional arms control, which affects potentially or directly every nation represented in this great hall. This is not a matter for the future—even the near future—but of the immediate present.

Worldwide military expenditures are now in the neighborhood of \$300 billion a year. Last year the nations of the world spent more than 60 times as much—60 times as much—equipping each soldier as we did educating each child. The industrialized nations spent the most money, but the rate of growth in military spending is faster in the developing world. While only a handful of states produced sophisticated weapons, the number of nations which seek to purchase these weapons is expanding rapidly.

The conventional arms race both causes and

feeds on the threat of larger and more deadly wars. This levies an enormous burden on an already troubled world economy.

For our part the United States has now begun to reduce its arms exports. Our aim is to reduce both the quantity and the deadlines of the weapons that we sell. We have already taken the first steps, but we cannot go very far alone. Nations whose neighbors are purchasing large quantities of arms feel constrained to do the same. Supplier nations who practice restraint in arms sales sometimes find that they simply lose valuable commercial markets to other suppliers.

We hope to work with other supplier nations to cut back on the flow of arms and to reduce the rate at which the most advanced and sophisticated weapon technologies spread around the world. We do not expect this task to be easy or to produce instant results. But we are committed to stop the spiral of increasing sale of weapons.

Equally important we hope the purchaser nations—individually and through regional organizations—will limit their arms imports. We are ready to provide to some nations the necessary means for legitimate self-defense, but we are also eager to work with any nation or region in order to decrease the need for more numerous, more deadly, and ever more expensive weapons.

Regional Conflicts

Fourteen years ago one of my predecessors spoke in this very room under circumstances that, in certain ways, resembled these. It was a time, he said, of comparative calm, and there was an atmosphere of rising hope about the prospect of controlling nuclear energy. The first specific step had been taken to limit the nuclear arms race—a test ban treaty signed by nearly a hundred nations.

But the succeeding years did not live up to the optimistic prospect John F. Kennedy placed before this Assembly, because, as a community of nations, we failed to address the deepest sources of potential conflict among us.

As we seek to establish the principles of détente among the major nuclear powers, we believe that these principles must also apply in regional conflicts. The United States is committed to the peaceful settlement of differences. We are committed to the strengthening of the peacemaking capabilities of the United Nations and regional organizations, such as the Organization of African Unity and the Organization of American States.

The United States supports Great Britain's effort to bring about a peaceful, rapid transition to majority rule and independence in Zimbabwe. We have joined other members of the Security Council last week and also the Secretary General in efforts to bring about independence and democratic rule in Namibia. We are pleased with the level of cooperation that we have achieved with the leaders of the nations in the area, as well as those people who are struggling for independence.

We urge South Africa and other nations to

support the proposed solution to the problems in Zimbabwe and to cooperate still more closely in providing for a smooth and prompt transition in Namibia. But it is essential that all outside nations exercise restraint in their actions in Zimbabwe and Namibia so that we can bring about this majority rule and avoid a widening war that could engulf the southern half of the African Continent.

Of all the regional conflicts in the world, none holds more menace than the Middle East. War there has already carried the world to the edge of nuclear confrontation. It has already disrupted the world economy and imposed severe hardships on the people in the developed and the developing nations alike. So true peace—peace embodied in binding treaties—is essential. It will be in the interest of the Israelis and the Arabs. It is in the interest of the American people. It is in the interest of the entire world.

The United Nations Security Council has provided the basis for peace in Resolutions 242 and 338, but negotiations in good faith by all parties are needed to give substance to peace.

Such good faith negotiations must be inspired by a recognition that all nations in the area—Israel and the Arab countries—have a right to exist in peace, with early establishment of economic and cultural exchange and of normal diplomatic relations. Peace must include a process in which the bitter divisions of generations—even centuries—hatreds, and suspicions can be overcome. Negotiations cannot be successful if any of the parties harbor the deceitful view that peace is simply an interlude in which to prepare for war.

Good faith negotiations will also require acceptance by all sides of the fundamental rights and interests of everyone involved.

—For Israel this means borders that are recognized and secure. Security arrangements are crucial to a nation that has fought for its survival in each of the last four decades. The commitment of the United States to Israel's security is unquestionable.

—For the Arabs the legitimate rights of the Palestinians must be recognized. One of the things that binds the American people to Israel is our shared respect for human rights and the courage with which Israel has defended such rights. It is clear that a true and lasting peace in the Middle East must also respect the rights of all peoples of the area. How these rights are to be defined and implemented is, of course, for the interested parties to decide in detailed negotiations and not for us to dictate.

We do not intend to impose from the outside a settlement on the nations of the Middle East.

The United States has been meeting with the Foreign Ministers of Israel and the Arab nations involved in the search for peace. We are staying in close contact with the Soviet Union, with whom we share responsibility for reconvening the Geneva conference.

As a result of these consultations, the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed to call for the resumption of the Geneva conference before the end of this year. While a number of procedural questions remain, if the parties continue to act in good faith, I believe that these questions can be answered.

The major powers have a special responsibility to act with restraint in areas of the world where they have competing interests, because the association of these interests with local rivalries and conflicts can lead to serious confrontation.

In the Indian Ocean area, neither we nor the Soviet Union has a large military presence, nor is there a rapidly mounting competition between us. Restraint in the area may well begin with a mutual effort to stabilize our presence and to avoid an escalation in military competition. Then both sides can consider how our military activities in the Indian Ocean, this whole area might be even further reduced.

The peaceful settlement of differences is, of course, essential. The United States is willing to abide by that principle, as in the case of the recently signed Panama Canal treaties. Once ratified, these treaties can transform the U.S.-Panama relationship into one that permanently protects the interests and respects the sovereignty of both our countries.

We have all survived and surmounted major challenges since the United Nations was founded. But we can accelerate progress even in a world of ever-increasing diversity. A commitment to strengthen international institutions is vital, but progress lies also in our own national policies. We can work together to form a community of peace if we accept the kind of obligations that I have suggested today. To summarize:

—First, an obligation to remove the threat of nuclear weaponry, to reverse the buildup of

armaments and their trade, and to conclude bilateral and multilateral arms control agreements that can bring security to all of us. In order to reduce the reliance of nations on nuclear weaponry, I hereby solemnly declare on behalf of the United States that we will not use nuclear weapons except in self-defense; that is, in circumstances of an actual nuclear or conventional attack on the United States, our territories, or armed forces, or such an attack on our allies. In addition, we hope that initiatives by the Western nations to secure mutual and balanced force reductions in Europe will be met by equal response from the Warsaw Pact countries.

—Second, an obligation to show restraint in areas of tension, to negotiate disputes and to settle them peacefully, and to strengthen peacemaking capabilities of the United Nations and regional organizations.

—And finally, an effort by all nations—East as well as West, North as well as South—to fulfill mankind's aspirations for human development and human freedom. It is to meet these basic demands that we build governments and seek peace.

We must share these obligations for our own mutual survival and our own mutual prosperity. We can see a world at peace. We can work for a world without want. We can build a global community dedicated to these purposes and to human dignity.

The view that I have sketched for you today is that of only one leader in only one nation. However wealthy and powerful the United States may be—however capable of leadership—this power is increasingly only relative, the leadership increasingly is in need of being shared. No nation has a monopoly of vision, of creativity, or of ideas. Bringing these together from many nations is our common responsibility and our common challenge. For only in these ways can the idea of a peaceful global community grow and prosper.

APPENDIX II: PRINCIPAL ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

The General Assembly is composed of all 149 UN members. They are:

Afghanistan	German Dem. Republic	Norway
Albania	Fed. Rep. of Germany	Oman
Algeria	Ghana	Pakistan
Angola	Greece	Panama
Argentina	Grenada	Papua New Guinea
Australia	Guatemala	Paraguay
Austria	Guinea	Peru
Bahamas	Guinea-Bissau	Philippines
Bahrain	Guyana	Poland
Bangladesh	Haiti	Portugal
Barbados	Honduras	Qatar
Belgium	Hungary	Romania
Benin	Iceland	Rwanda
Bhutan	India	Samoa
Bolivia	Indonesia	Sao Tome and Principe
Botswana	Iran	Saudi Arabia
Brazil	Iraq	Senegal
Bulgaria	Ireland	Seychelles
Burma	Israel	Sierra Leone
Burundi	Italy	Singapore
Byelorussian S.S.R.	Ivory Coast	Somalia
Cambodia	Jamaica	South Africa
Cameroon	Japan	Spain
Canada	Jordan	Sri Lanka
Cape Verde	Kenya	Sudan
Central African Empire	Kuwait	Surinam
Chad	Laos	Swaziland
Chile	Lebanon	Sweden
China	Lesotho	Syria
Colombia	Liberia	Tanzania
Comoros	Libya	Thailand
Congo	Luxembourg	Togo
Costa Rica	Malagasy Republic	Trinidad and Tobago
Cuba	Malawi	Tunisia
Cyprus	Malaysia	Turkey
Czechoslovakia	Maldives	Uganda
Denmark	Mali	Ukrainian S.S.R.
Djibouti	Malta	U.S.S.R.
Dominican Republic	Mauritania	United Arab Emirates
Ecuador	Mauritius	United Kingdom
Egypt	Mexico	United States
El Salvador	Mongolia	Upper Volta
Equatorial Guinea	Morocco	Uruguay
Ethiopia	Mozambique	Venezuela
Fiji	Nepal	Vietnam
Finland	Netherlands	Yemen (Aden)
France	New Zealand	Yemen (Sana)
Gabon	Nicaragua	Yugoslavia
Gambia	Niger	Zaire
	Nigeria	Zambia

The 31st regular session of the General Assembly, which had been suspended Dec. 22, 1976, reconvened Sept. 13, 1977, under the presidency of Hamilton S. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka) and adjourned Sept. 19.

The 32nd regular session convened Sept. 20 and adjourned Dec. 21. The Assembly elected Lazar Mojsov (Yugoslavia) as President and the chairmen of the delegations of Cyprus, China, Denmark, Ecuador, France, Gabon, Guatemala, Indonesia, Lesotho, Malagasy Republic, Netherlands, Peru, Sierra Leone, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States, and Yemen (Aden) as the 17 Vice Presidents.

The chairmen of the seven main committees, on which each member may be represented, were:

- First (Political and Security)--Frank Edmund Boaten (Ghana)
- Special Political--Bernhard Neugebauer (German Dem. Republic)
- Second (Economic and Financial)--Peter Jankowitsch (Austria)
- Third (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural)--Lucille Mair (Jamaica)
- Fourth (Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories)--Mowaffak Allaf (Syria)
- Fifth (Administrative and Budgetary)--Morteza Talieh (Iran)
- Sixth (Legal)--Enrique Gaviria (Colombia)

The General Committee (steering committee) is composed of the President, the 17 Vice Presidents, and the chairmen of the seven main committees.

SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council is composed of 5 members designated in the Charter as permanent and 10 members elected by the General Assembly for 2-year terms ending Dec. 31 of the year given in the heading:

Permanent Members: China, France, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, United States.

1977: Benin, Libya, Pakistan, Panama, Romania.

1978: Canada, Federal Republic of Germany, India, Mauritius, Venezuela.

On Oct. 24 the Assembly elected Bolivia, Czechoslovakia, Gabon, Kuwait, and Nigeria for terms beginning Jan. 1, 1978.

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

The Trusteeship Council is composed of the United States (which administers a territory) and the four permanent members of the Security Council that do not administer territories (China, France, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom).

The Trusteeship Council held its 44th session in New York, June 6-23, 1977.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

ECOSOC is composed of 54 members elected by the General Assembly for 3-year terms ending Dec. 31 of the year given in the heading:

1977: Argentina, Bulgaria, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, Ethiopia, Gabon, Japan, Kenya, Norway, Pakistan, Peru, U.S.S.R., United Kingdom, Yemen (Sana), Zaire.

1978: Afghanistan, Algeria, Austria, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Malaysia, Nigeria, Portugal, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Venezuela, Yugoslavia.

1979: Colombia, Iran, Iraq, Italy, Jamaica, Mauritania, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, Poland, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Ukrainian S.S.R., United States, Upper Volta.

On Oct. 24 the Assembly reelected Argentina, China, Japan, U.S.S.R., and the United Kingdom, and elected Cameroon, Central African Empire, Finland, Hungary, India, Lesotho, Malta, Romania, Sweden, Tanzania, Trinidad and Tobago, and United Arab Emirates for terms beginning Jan. 1, 1978. On Nov. 28 the Assembly elected the Dominican Republic to the remaining seat.

ECOSOC held its organizational session for 1977 (Jan. 11-14), its third special session (Feb. 23), and its 62nd session (Apr. 12-May 13) in New York. It held the first part of its 63rd session in Geneva (July 6-Aug. 4) and the resumed part in New York (Oct. 5, 17, 31, Dec. 2, 14).

INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

The International Court of Justice consists of 15 members elected by the General Assembly and the Security Council for 9-year terms ending Feb. 5 of the year given in parentheses. Members are listed in order of precedence:

Eduardo Jiménez de Aréchaga (Uruguay) (1979), President
Nagendra Singh (India) (1982), Vice President
Isaac Forster (Senegal) (1982)
André Gros (France) (1982)
Manfred Lachs (Poland) (1985)
Hardy C. Dillard (United States) (1979)
Louis Ignacio-Pinto (Benin) (1979)
Federico de Castro (Spain) (1979)
Platon D. Morozov (U.S.S.R.) (1979)
Sir Humphrey Waldock (United Kingdom) (1982)
José María Ruda (Argentina) (1982)

Hermann Mosler (Federal Republic of Germany) (1985)
Taslim O. Elias (Nigeria) (1985)
Salah El Dine Tarazi (Syria) (1985)
Shigeru Oda (Japan) (1985)

SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat consists of a Secretary General, who is the chief administrative officer of the organization, and such staff as the organization may require. The Secretary General is appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council; the staff is appointed by the Secretary General under regulations established by the General Assembly.

On Dec. 22, 1971, the 26th General Assembly appointed Kurt Waldheim (Austria) Secretary General for a 5-year term beginning Jan. 1, 1972. On Dec. 8, 1976, the 31st Assembly reappointed him for a second 5-year term, ending Dec. 31, 1981.

APPENDIX III: UNITED STATES MISSION

U.S. MISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS, NEW YORK

The United States is represented by a permanent mission at the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York. Under the direction of the U.S. Representative to the United Nations, the mission carries out the instructions of the President, as transmitted by the Secretary of State. It serves as the channel of communications for the U.S. Government with the UN organs, agencies, and commissions at the Headquarters; with the 143 other permanent missions accredited to the United Nations; and with 14 nonmember observer missions. It is also a base of operations for the U.S. delegations to the General Assembly and to other UN bodies when they meet in New York.

The chief of mission, who has the rank of ambassador, is the U.S. Representative to the United Nations; he also represents the United States in the Security Council. He is assisted by other persons of appropriate title, rank, and status, who are appointed by the President. These persons, at the direction of the U.S. Representative, represent the United States in any organ, commission, or other body of the United Nations, including the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Trusteeship Council.

The mission has a staff consisting of political, economic, social, financial, legal, military, public affairs, and administrative advisers. In 1977 approximately 139 persons were assigned to the mission by the Department of State and other U.S. Departments and Agencies.

The staff assists the U.S. Representative in such activities as (1) planning the tactical pursuit of U.S. policy objectives in UN organs and bodies; (2) carrying out consultation, negotiation, and liaison with other delegations and the UN Secretariat; (3) preparing policy recommendations to the Department of State; (4) reporting to the Department of State on consultations and developments in the United Nations; (5) discharging U.S. responsibilities as "host government"--in particular those arising from the 1947 Headquarters Agreement between the United States and the United Nations; the International Organizations Immunities Act of 1945, as amended; and the Convention of Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations (entered into force with respect to the United States Apr. 29, 1970), which deal inter alia with relations of the United Nations, its officials, and delegation members with Federal, State, and local authorities; (6) carrying out public affairs activities; and (7) planning and administering conference operations.

U.S. MISSION TO THE EUROPEAN OFFICE OF THE UNITED NATIONS
AND OTHER INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, GENEVA

The United States maintains a permanent mission in Geneva under the direction of a U.S. Representative, with the rank of ambassador, who is accredited to the European Office of the United

Nations and to the UN specialized agencies and other international organizations with headquarters in Geneva. The mission carries out instructions, as transmitted by the Secretary of State, and serves as the channel of communication for the U.S. Government with these organizations and UN activities in Geneva. The mission maintains liaison with the 99 other permanent missions and the 5 nonmember observer missions located in Geneva, as well as with a large number of nongovernmental or voluntary organizations involved in humanitarian affairs, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The mission is responsible for the representation of U.S. interests at the UN European headquarters, in UN subsidiary bodies located in Geneva (such as UNCTAD, UNHCR, ECE, the UN Disaster Relief Office, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, the Commission on Human Rights, and the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control); in the four specialized agencies which have their headquarters in Geneva (WHO, WMO, ITU, and WIPO); and in other international bodies such as GATT, CCD, and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.

The mission maintains liaison on a continuing basis with the executive heads and members of secretariats of international bodies, reports on developments relating to them, monitors their programs and budgets, and makes policy and program recommendations to the Department of State.

The mission staff includes economic, political, financial, scientific, agricultural, textile, public affairs, humanitarian, and administrative advisers. In 1977, an average of 144 Americans, including personnel detailed by U.S. Government Departments other than the Department of State, were assigned to the staff and 44 local employees were hired full-time.

The Ambassador often heads or serves as alternate on delegations to large conferences, and other officers of the mission either represent the United States in smaller international meetings or serve on the U.S. delegations to these. The mission also supported the permanent delegations to the Multilateral Trade Negotiations and SALT.

OTHER U.S. MISSIONS

The United States also maintains missions at the headquarters of IAEA in Vienna and UNESCO in Paris and offices of a U.S. Representative at the headquarters of UNIDO in Vienna, FAO (and WFP) in Rome, ICAO in Montreal and UNEP in Nairobi.

APPENDIX IV: UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVES

Permanent Representative and Chief of U.S. Mission to the United Nations: William W. Scranton (through Jan. 19); Andrew J. Young (from Jan. 30)

Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations: W. Tapley Bennett, Jr. (through Apr. 13); James F. Leonard, Jr. (from Apr. 14)

Deputy Permanent Representative on the Security Council: Albert W. Sherer, Jr. (through Mar. 29); Donald F. McHenry (from Apr. 14)

Representative on the Economic and Social Council: Jacob M. Myerson (through May 23); Melissa F. Wells (from June 9)

Alternate Permanent Representative for Special Political Affairs: Nancy V. Rawls (through July 15); Allard K. Lowenstein (from Aug. 3)

U.S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations and Other International Organizations: Henry E. Catto, Jr. (through Apr. 4); William J. vanden Heuvel (from July 1)

Deputy U.S. Representative to the European Office of the United Nations and Other International Organizations: Manuel Abrams (through Jan. 31); Roger A. Sorenson (from Feb. 28)

GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Resumed 31st regular session (New York, Sept. 13-19)

Representative: Andrew J. Young

Alternates: James F. Leonard, Jr.; Melissa F. Wells;
Charles R. Frank

32nd regular session (New York, Sept. 20-Dec. 21)

Representative: Andrew J. Young (Chairman);¹/ James F. Leonard, Jr.; Lester L. Wolff; Charles W. Whalen, Jr.; Coretta Scott King

Alternates: Donald F. McHenry, Melissa F. Wells, Allard K. Lowenstein, Marjorie Craig Benton, John Clifford Kennedy

UN Conciliation Commission for Palestine

Representative: David Rowe

Advisory Commission of UNRWA

Representative: Thomas M. DeFord

Alternate: Howard Walker

¹/The Secretary of State, Cyrus Vance, served as chairman of the delegation, ex officio, during his presence at the session.

Working Group on the Financing of UNRWA

Representative: David Rowe

UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation

26th session (Vienna, Apr. 13-22)

Representative: Robert David Moseley, Jr.

Alternate: Austin M. Brues

Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

20th session (Vienna, June 20-July 1)

Representative: John A. Baker

Alternates: Stephen Doyle, Herbert Reis

Conference of the Committee on Disarmament

(Geneva, Feb. 15-Apr. 29)

Representative: Leon Sloss (through Feb, 18), Howard Meyers
(from Feb. 21)

(Geneva, July 5-Aug. 30)

Representative: Adrian S. Fisher

Alternate: Archelaus R. Turrentine (through July 31),

Charles C. Flowerree (from Aug. 1)

Trade and Development Board of UNCTAD

8th special session (Geneva, Apr. 25-May 4)

Representative: Richard A. Poole

16th session (2nd part) (Geneva, May 4)

Representative: Robert Brungart

17th session (1st part) (Geneva, Aug. 23-Sept. 2)

Representative: Charles F. Meissner

Alternate: Robert Brungart

9th special session (Geneva, Sept. 5-9)

Representative: William J. vanden Heuvel

Alternate: Charles F. Meissner

Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations

Representatives: David Rowe, Robert B. Rosenstock

Advisory Committee on the UN Program of Assistance in the Teaching,
Study, Dissemination, and Wider Appreciation of International Law

12th session (New York, Nov. 2)

Representative: Alan J. Kreczko

Industrial Development Board of UNIDO

11th session (Vienna, May 23-June 6)

Representative: William J. Stibravy

Alternate: Dan W. Figgins, Jr.

Permanent Representative to UNIDO: William J. Stibravy (through
Aug. 31), John C. Leary (from Sept. 1)

UN Commission on International Trade Law

10th session (Vienna, May 23-June 17)

Representative: E. Allan Farnsworth

Alternate: John O. Honnold

Governing Council of UNEP

5th session (Nairobi, May 9-25)

Representative: Patsy T. Mink

Alternate: Nancy V. Rawls
Permanent Representative to UNEP: Edward Noziglia (through June 27);
Norman H. Frisbie (from June 28)

Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the
Strengthening of the Role of the Organization

(New York, Feb. 14-Mar. 11)

Representative: Robert B. Rosenstock

Alternates: Rudolph E. Carter, Orme Wilson, Jr.

Committee on Conferences

Representative: Joseph B. Norbury, Jr. (through July 8);
William J. Cunningham (from July 9)

World Food Council

3rd session (Manila, June 20-24)

Representative: Bob Bergland

Alternates: John A. Ferch, Dale E. Hathaway

Ad Hoc Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social
Sectors of the United Nations System

5th session (Feb. 16-Mar. 4)

Representative: Jacob M. Myerson

Alternate: Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.

6th session (New York, May 2-20; Sept. 30-Dec. 14)

Representative: Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.

Alternate: James E. Baker

Preparatory Commission for the IFAD

3rd session (Rome, Apr. 4-8)

Representative: Philip Birnbaum

Alternates: Paul Byrnes, Christopher Norred

4th session (Rome, July 11-15)

Representative: Philip Birnbaum

Alternates: Christopher Norred, Charles Frank

Preparatory Committee for the UN Conference on Technical Co-
operation among Developing Countries

1st session (New York, Jan. 10-17)

Representative: Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.

Alternate: H. Bernard Glazer

2nd session (New York, Sept. 20-26)

Representative: H. Bernard Glazer

Alternate: Frank W. Brecher

Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism

(New York, Mar. 14-25)

Representative: Orme Wilson, Jr.

Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General
Assembly Devoted to Disarmament

1st, 2nd, 3rd sessions (New York, Mar. 28-30, May 9-20, Aug. 31-
Sept. 9)

Representative: James F. Leonard, Jr.

Alternate: Richard Petree (1st and 2nd sessions), Lawrence
Weiler (3rd session)

Ad Hoc Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention
Against the Taking of Hostages

(New York, Aug. 1-19)

Representatives: Robert B. Rosenstock

Alternate: Alan Kreczko

SECURITY COUNCIL

Representative: William W. Scranton (through Jan. 19),
Andrew J. Young (from Jan. 30)

Deputies: W. Tapley Bennett, Jr. (through Apr. 13); James
F. Leonard, Jr. (from Apr. 14); Albert W. Sherer, Jr. (through
Mar. 29); Donald F. McHenry (from Apr. 14)

Alternates: Richard W. Petree, Herbert K. Reis

Military Staff Committee

Representatives: Vice Adm. Joseph P. Moorer, USN (through
Aug. 22); Vice Adm. William J. Crowe, USN (from Aug. 23); Lt.
Gen. Edward G. Meyer, USA; Lt. Gen. William G. Moore, Jr., USAF
(through July 4); Lt. Gen. W. L. Creech, USAF (from July 5)

Deputies: Capt. Carl J. Lidel, USN; Col. William R. D. Jones,
USA; Col. Nathaniel A. Gallagher, USAF (through June 30); Col.
John M. Kirk, USAF (from July 29)

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

44th session (New York, June 6-23)

Representative: Allard K. Lowenstein

Alternate: John Kriendler

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

Organizational session for 1977 (New York, Jan. 11-14)

Representative: Jacob M. Myerson

Alternate: Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.

3rd special session (New York, Feb. 23)

Representative: Jacob M. Myerson

62nd session (New York, Apr. 12-May 13)

Representative: Andrew J. Young

Alternates: Melissa Wells, Allard K. Lowenstein, Robert
W. Kitchen, Jr.

63rd session (Geneva, July 6-Aug. 4 and New York, Oct. 5, 17, 31;
Dec. 2, 14)

Representatives: Andrew J. Young, Melissa Wells

Alternates: Charles R. Frank, Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.,
William J. Stibravy, William J. vanden Heuvel

Commission on Human Rights

33rd session (Geneva, Feb. 7-Mar. 11)

Representative: Allard K. Lowenstein

Alternate: Warren E. Hewitt

Commission on Narcotic Drugs

27th session (Geneva, Feb. 7-25)

Representative: Mathea Falco

Alternates: Peter Bourne, Robert L. DuPont, Betty Gough,
Donald E. Miller

Population Commission

19th session (New York, Jan. 10-21)

Representatives: Marshall Green

Alternate: Conrad Taeuber

Commission for Social Development

25th session (Geneva, Jan. 17-Feb. 4)

Representative: Jean Picker

Alternate: Lois J. Matteson

Statistical Commission

(Did not meet in 1977)

Commission of the Status of Women

(Did not meet in 1977)

Commission on Transnational Corporations

Resumed 2nd session and 3rd session (New York, Mar. 3 and Apr. 25-
May 6)

Representative: Seymour J. Rubin

Alternate: Richard J. Smith

Economic Commission for Africa

4th meeting of the Conference of Ministers (Kinshasa, Zaire,
Feb. 24-Mar. 3)

Principal U.S. Observer: David B. Bolen

Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific

33rd session (Bangkok, Apr. 20-30)

Representative: Charles S. Whitehouse

Alternates: Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.; Parker D. Wyman

Economic Commission for Europe

32nd session (Geneva, Apr. 19-30)

Representative: Nancy Rawls

Alternate: Robert R. Brungart

Economic Commission for Latin America

17th session (Guatemala City, Guatemala, Apr. 25-May 5)

Representative: Andrew J. Young

Alternates: Davis E. Boster, Melissa Wells

Economic Commission for Western Asia

4th session (Amman, Jordan, Apr. 24-29)

Observer: Lloyd George

Alternate: David Winn

Executive Board of UNICEF

(Manila, May 23-June 3)

Representative: Michael N. Scelsi

Alternate: Susan Herter

Committee on Nongovernmental Organizations

(New York, Feb. 7-11, Apr. 7-11)

Representative: James E. Baker

Alternate: Lois J. Matteson (Apr. 7-11)

Committee for Program and Coordination

17th session (New York, May 9 and 23-June 17)

Representative: James E. Baker (May 9), Melissa Wells
(May 23-June 17)

Alternate: Joseph B. Norbury, Jr.

Committee on Food Aid Policies and Programs

3rd session (Rome, May 16-27)

Delegate: Kathleen Bittermann

Alternates: Christopher A. Norred, Jr.; Victor H. Skiles

4th session (Rome, Oct. 24-Nov. 4)

Delegates: John A. Baker, Kelly Harrison

Alternate: Peggy A. Sheehan

Executive Committee of the High Commissioner's Program (UNHCR)

28th session (Geneva, Oct. 4-12)

Representative: Patricia Derian

Alternate: James L. Carlin

Governing Council of the UNDP

23rd session (New York, Jan. 18-Feb. 4)

Representative: Jacob M. Myerson

Alternates: Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.; Chester E. Norris, Jr.;

Pierre L. Sales

24th session (Geneva, June 13-July 1)

Representatives: John J. Gilligan, Melissa Wells

Alternates: Charles R. Frank; Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.;

Chester E. Norris, Jr.; Pierre Sales

Committee on Natural Resources

2nd special session (New York, Jan. 3-7)

Representative: Jacob M. Myerson

Alternates: Gary Cobb, Bill L. Long, Arthur Ross

5th session (Geneva, May 9-19)

Representative: Robert R. Brungart

Alternate: John Reinemund

Committee on Science and Technology for Development

1st special session (New York, Jan. 31-Feb. 14)

Representative: Frederick Seitz

Alternates: Robert W. Kitchen, Jr.; Rodney W. Nichols

Committee on Review and Appraisal

4th session (New York, May 16-June 3)

Representative: Kenneth M. Kaufman

Alternate: Richard A. Poole

Ad Hoc Intergovernmental Working Group on the Problem of Corrupt Practices

2nd, 3rd sessions (New York, Jan. 31-Feb. 11, Mar. 28-Apr. 8)

Representative: Mark B. Feldman

Alternate: Stuart E. Benson

Resumed 3rd session (Geneva, June 27-July 1)

Representative: Mark B. Feldman

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES AND IAEA

Food and Agriculture Organization

19th FAO Conference (Rome, Nov. 12-Dec.1)

Delegate Ex Officio: Bob Bergland, Secretary of Agriculture

Delegate: Dale E. Hathaway

Alternates: John A. Baker, Paul J. Byrnes, Curtis Farrar,
Richard N. Gardner, Ruth Morgenthau

71st session, FAO Council (Rome, June 6-17)

Representative: Charles R. Frank, Jr.

Alternates: Paul J. Byrnes; Christopher A. Norred, Jr.;
Ralph W. Phillips

72nd session, FAO Council (Rome, Nov. 8-10)

Delegate: John A. Baker

Alternates: Chester R. Benjamin, Paul J. Byrnes

73rd session, FAO Council (Rome, Dec. 2)

Delegate: John A. Baker

Alternates: Paul J. Byrnes, Anthony Cruitt

Permanent Representative to FAO: John A. Baker (from Sept. 26)

Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization

10th session, IMCO Assembly (London, Nov. 7-18)

Representative: Joel W. Biller

Alternate: Adm. Owen W. Siler, USCG

38th session, IMCO Council (London, May 23-27)

Representative: Brock Adams

Alternates: Walker A. Diamanti; Rear Adm. Roderick Y.

Edwards, USCG (ret.); Rear Adm. Sidney A. Wallace, USCG

9th extraordinary session, IMCO Council (London, Nov. 4)

Representative: Walker A. Diamanti

Alternate: Rear Adm. Roderick Y. Edwards, USCG (ret.)

39th session, IMCO Council (London, Nov. 18)

Representative: Joel W. Biller

Alternate: Adm. Owen W. Siler, USCG

International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors: William E. Simon (through
Jan. 11); W. Michael Blumenthal (from Apr. 7)

Alternate U.S. Governor: Richard N. Cooper (from June 15)

U.S. Executive Director: Edward R. Fried (from June 21)

Alternate U.S. Executive Director: Hal F. Reynolds (through
Sept. 14), William P. Dixon (from Sept. 15)

International Civil Aviation Organization

22nd session, ICAO Assembly (Montreal, Sept. 13-Oct.5)

Delegates: Betty C. Dillon (Chairman), Charles O. Cary,
Garland P. Castleberry, William M. McQuade, Romney E. Patterson,
Elias C. Rodriguez

Alternates: Edward A. Corboy, Joan S. Gravatt, Charles R.
Hartley

U.S. Representative on ICAO Council and Permanent Representative
to ICAO: Betty C. Dillon (through Nov. 2), John E. Downs
(From Nov. 3)

International Development Association

The Governors, Executive Directors, and Alternates are the same as those of the IBRD.

International Finance Corporation

The U.S. Governor, Alternate Governor, Executive Director, and Alternate Executive Director of the IBRD also serve as the U.S. Governor, Alternate Governor, Director, and Alternate Director of the IFC.

International Fund for Agricultural Development

1st session, Governing Council (Rome, Dec. 13-16)

U.S. Governor: John J. Gilligan

Acting Alternate Governor: Charles F. Meissner

1st session, Executive Board (Rome, Dec. 14-15)

Acting U.S. Executive Director: Charles F. Meissner

International Labor Organization

63rd International Labor Conference (Geneva, June 1-22)

Visiting Minister: F. Ray Marshall

Government Delegates: Daniel L. Horowitz, Dale Good

Alternate: Randall G. Upton

Employer Delegate: Charles H. Smith, Jr.

Worker Delegate: Irving Brown

U.S. Government Representative on ILO Governing Body: Daniel L. Horowitz

International Monetary Fund

U.S. Governor, Board of Governors: William E. Simon (through Jan. 11), W. Michael Blumenthal (from Apr. 7)

Alternate U.S. Governor: Arthur F. Burns

U.S. Executive Director: Sam Y. Cross

Alternate U.S. Executive Director: Thomas B. C. Leddy

International Telecommunication Union

32nd session, Administrative Council (Geneva, May 23-June 10)

Representative: John J. O'Neill, Jr.

Alternate: Sidney Friedland

UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

U.S. Member, Executive Board: Robert B. Kamm (until Sept. 12); Henry E. Kerry, Jr. (from Sept. 12)

U.S. Permanent Representative to UNESCO: William B. Jones (until Aug. 10), Esteban E. Torres (from Oct. 19)

Universal Postal Union

1977 session UPU Executive Council (Bern, May 2-18)

Head of Observer Delegation: H. Edgar S. Stock

World Health Organization

30th World Health Assembly (Geneva, May 2-20)

Delegates: S. Paul Ehrlich, Jr., M.D.; Lee M. Howard, M.D.; William H. Foege, M.D.

Alternates: Robert F. Andrew; George I. Lythcott, M.D.; Roger A. Sorenson

U.S. Representative, Executive Board: Robert de Caires, M.D. (through Oct. 30); S. Paul Ehrlich, Jr., M.D. (from Oct. 31)

World Intellectual Property Organization

8th series of meetings of the administrative bodies of WIPO and of the Unions administered by WIPO (Geneva, Sept. 26-Oct. 4)

Delegate: Harvey J. Winter

Alternate: Lutrelle F. Parker

World Meteorological Organization

U.S. Member, Executive Committee: Robert M. White

Alternate: George Cressman

International Atomic Energy Agency

21st General Conference (Vienna, Sept. 26-Oct. 3)

Representative: Robert W. Fri

Alternates: Richard T. Kennedy; Louis V. Nosenzo; Joseph S. Nye, Jr.; Nelson F. Sievering, Jr.; Gerard C. Smith; Galen L. Stone; Robert D. Thorne

U.S. Representative, Board of Governors and Permanent Representative to IAEA: Gerald F. Tape (through July 21), Gerard C. Smith (from July 22)

Deputy U.S. Representative and Resident Representative: Galen L. Stone.

